TRANSLATIONS
OF
CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

THE LIFE OF ST. GALL

MAUD JOYNT

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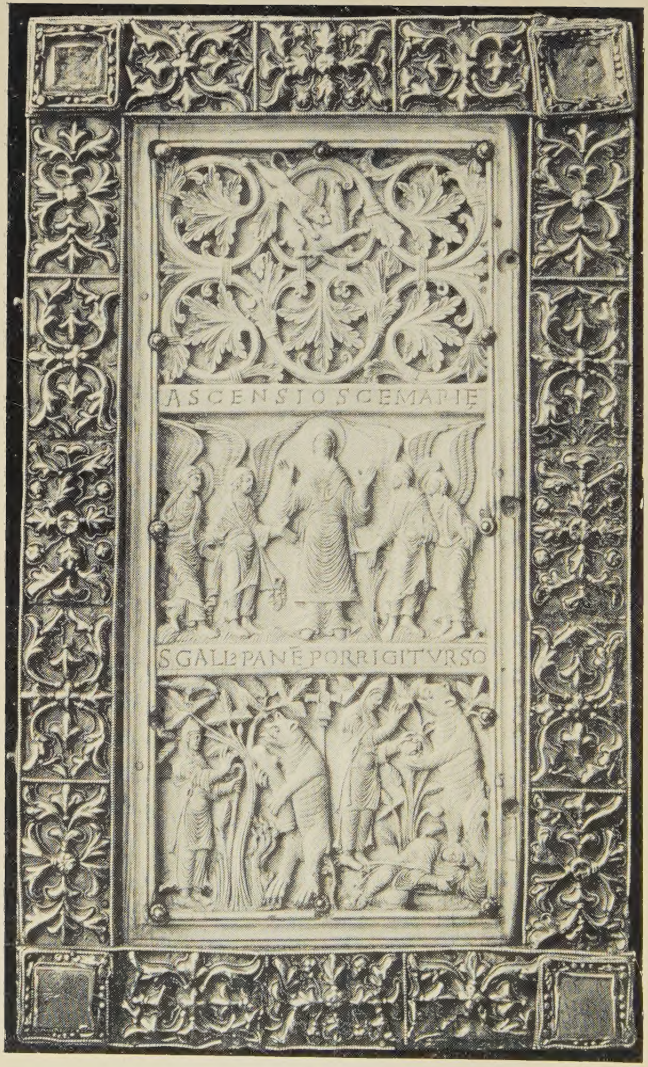
TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

SERIES V

LIVES OF THE CELTIC SAINTS

EDITED BY ELEANOR HULL

ST. GALL



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THE LIFE OF ST. GALL

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BY

MAUD JOYNT

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INTRODUCTION

I. Life of St. Gall

Our knowledge of the life of St. Gall is derived mainly from three early biographies.

A. The oldest of these, the *Vita Vetustissima* (which I will refer to as V.V.), was discovered in recent times in the Archives of Zürich by Paul Schweizer. It was written probably at the end of the eighth century by an unknown author, and is a fragment, the earlier part being lost. It is divided into two books, the first of which, beginning with the death of Columbanus, contains the substance of Walahfrid (see C below) bk. i, ch. 26, 27, 28, 29; the second deals with St. Gall's burial (Wal., bk. i., ch. 30, 31 and beginning of 32), after which occurs a gap, followed by an exordium, as though the work were at an end; but after this comes an addition (possibly from the same pen) corresponding to Wal., bk. ii, ch. 6, 7, 8. This last part must have been written after 771, to which date it contains an allusion.

B. The Life by Wettinus (Wett.) is preserved in a single codex (No. 553) in the Library of St. Gall. Wettinus was master of the external school of the monastery of Augia or Reichenau, and died in 824; and as from the metrical prologue prefixed to his work it appears that he wrote at the request of Gozbert, who became Abbot of St. Gall in 816, his biography must have been written between 816–24. Like his source, V.V., it is divided into two books, the former corresponding to Wal., i. 1–29, the second to Wal., i. 30–34, ii. 1–8. It is a poor performance, written in a turgid style and full of grammatical blunders. Its mediocrity made a

new Life desirable, and accordingly Abbot Gozbert sought the services of another writer, (C) Walahfrid Strabo (the ' Squinter '), a scholar of Reichenau. Walahfrid had studied at Reichenau and later at Fulda under Hrabanus Maurus; he subsequently became tutor to Charles, one of the sons of Louis le Débonnaire, and on the accession of that prince to the rule of Neustria was made Abbot of Reichenau. He died in 849 at the age of about forty; in a fragmentary work [1] left by Ermenricus (or Ermenrich), a monk of Reichenau, it is said that at the time of his death he was bearing a reply from the emperor Lothair to his brother Charles. He also wrote a Life of St. Otmar and a good deal of Latin verse, including two poems of some length, the *Visio Wettini* describing a vision of Wettinus (who had very likely been his teacher) and another on the cultivation of gardens. In the prologue to our biography, he promises a metrical Life of St. Gall and according to Ermenrich he was engaged on this work at the time of his death. We possess a Life of Gall in Latin hexameters which is based on the first part of Walahfrid's prose Life and which, I think, there is good reason for assigning to Walahfrid himself; [2] in the prologue, addressed to Gozbert the younger (nephew of Abbot Gozbert), the author speaks of having written a prose Life sixteen years previously at the deposition of Emperor Louis, i.e., n 834. In any case our Life must have been composed

[1] Published by Dümmler, *Poetae Lat. Ævi Car.* (where also Walahfrid's poems will be found), also by Mabillon in his *Vet. Anal.*

[2] The Bollandist editor considers it to be certainly Walahfrid's; not so Von Arx and B. Krusch. The style is like that of Walahfrid and it follows the prose Life with great fidelity, reproducing many words and phrases and with only one or two deviations. Moreover there are occasional hiatuses of a word or part of a line, which the author doubtless intended to fill up later; it seems as if he had not been able to revise his work finally.

before 837, the date of Abbot Gozbert's death. Walahfrid does not mention the work of Wettinus (probably through motives of delicacy), though he certainly had it before him. He speaks however of an old Life, doubtless V.V., which he has followed more faithfully than did Wettinus. In addition he used Jonas' Life of Columbanus in his opening chapters, and in the second part of his work a collection of the miracles of St. Gall by the monk Gozbert, now lost. He divided his work into chapters and made the first book end after the funeral instead of after the death of Gall; and he added arguments of the several chapters.

Walahfrid's style, though not free from tautology and an occasional tendency to inflated rhetoric, is on the whole correct and lucid and he deserves a high place among mediæval Latinists. In judging his work we must take into account the ideal he set before him, which he has given us bk. ii. 9. The aims of the mediæval hagiographer were widely different from those of the modern historian; he wrote primarily for the edification of the faithful, and in the second place (when attached to a religious community) to glorify his monastery or order. Consequently he concerned himself chiefly with the miracles ascribed to the Saint, nor did he think it necessary to adduce any proofs for these; to have done so would have been an insult to the orthodoxy of his readers.

The popularity enjoyed by Walahfrid's work is attested by the large number of MSS. in which it is preserved. In the Life of St. Deicolus it is referred to in terms of high praise as being widely known.

II. St. Gall

Like most of the Irish monks who laboured on the continent, Gall is known to us only by a Latin name,

which however was doubtless suggested by his Irish one. The form of this Latin name varies in older documents. We first meet it, in a deed drawn up about 700, in the gen. *Sancti Galluni*, and in the numerous deeds of the eighth century preserved in the monastery archives the usual form of the gen. is either *Gallonis* or *Galloni* (implying a nom. *Gallo* or *Gallonus*) ; in a few instances we have *Giliani* or *Caliani* (probably due to a reminiscence of St. Kilian). The form *Gallus* occurs for the first time in a deed of 745 and is not common till the ninth century, when it displaces all others. If, however, we are to credit the story told in Wal. i. 16, it must have been the form used in the saint's life-time. In the codex containing Wett., there is a Latin note which states (on the authority of ' some Scots ', i.e., Irishmen) that Gall was the son of a king or chief named Kethernach and that his original name was Callech ; this closely resembles old Irish *cailech* a cock (L. *gallus*). *Cailech* was not, so far as I know, ever used as a proper name ; but it is sufficiently like the common Old Irish name Cellach (of which the gen. survives in the surname O'Ceallaigh, anglicized as Kelly) to allow of the conjecture that our saint may have been baptized Cellach.

For the chronology of Gall's life we must look mainly to Jonas' Life of Columbanus. He was placed as a boy under the tutelage of Columbanus at the monastery of Bangor, Co. Down, and was ordained priest, according to Wett., as soon as he reached the proper age, i.e. thirty years according to Irish canon law. He must therefore have been over thirty before leaving Ireland ; and if we place the date of Columbanus' departure a few years before the foundation of Luxeuil in 590, some time therefore between 585–590, we may conclude that Gall was born about the middle of the sixth century or soon after. Among the twelve monks who accompanied

Columbanus was Deicolus (Dicuill), afterwards founder of Lure, who is stated in his Life (Boll. Acta SS. January 18) and also in the *Necrologium Sangallense* to have been uterine brother of Gall. Deicolus was an aged and infirm man when Columbanus left Luxeuil in 610; but as Gall himself must have at that time been over fifty, there is no inherent improbability in the relationship. Columbanus and his followers sailed direct to France, landing in Brittany, and made their way to Burgundy, where Guntram (not Sigebert as stated by Jon. and Wal.) was then king; there Columbanus founded in rapid succession the settlements of Annegray, Luxeuil and Fontaine. Wal. has passed rapidly over the twenty years spent in Burgundy, but Jonas has preserved for us one episode concerning Gall (whom he does not elsewhere mention). Once, when provisions were wanting, Columbanus sent Gall to the river Brusca (now the Breuchin, flowing into the Lanterne) to get fish. Gall went instead to the Ligno (the L'Ognon, a tributary of the Aar), but after spending the day there with his nets returned without any booty. Whereupon Columbanus chid him for his disobedience and sent him back to the Breuchin, and this time Gall captured a large haul. 'This Gall himself often related to us,' adds Jonas (i. 11).

Both Jonas and Wal. ignore what seems to have been the chief cause of Columbanus' expulsion from Luxeuil (though Jonas hints at it, i. 19), namely, his controversy with the Gallican bishops concerning the date of Easter and other questions of ritual and discipline, and ascribe it solely to the enmity of Brunehild; no doubt the reason was that already in Jonas' life-time the Columban communities had conformed in these points to the rest of western Christendom. Only the Irish monks were expelled with their leader, the settlement at Luxeuil

being left otherwise intact. Of the long itinerary of Columbanus and his followers Wal. has given a mere summary. They passed through Besançon, Autun, Avallon and Auxerre to Nevers, then sailed down the Loire to Tours and thence to Nantes, where they embarked in a vessel bound for Ireland, but after being held back some time by adverse tides were at last put on shore again. They then went to Clothair of Neustria, who received them well and gave them an escort to Paris. Thence they set out on their way to Italy through Austrasia, governed at the time by Theodebert. To him they came and he received them hospitably and offered them their choice of a place to settle in within his dominions ; and according to Jonas they chose Bregenz, of which they had heard, though Wett. and Wal. would lead us to believe that the choice was made later when they had already reached Switzerland. On leaving Theodebert they went to Mainz and proceeded along the Rhine to Switzerland, and finally (after a stay at Tuggen on Lake Zürich not mentioned by Jonas) reached Bregenz. Here they seem to have spent two years. The outbreak of war between the brothers Theodoric and Theodebert and the overthrow of the latter, who was Columbanus' patron, at Zülpich in 612, led to Columbanus' final departure for Italy. Of Gall's staying behind and his master's displeasure Jonas says nothing ; but both facts are mentioned in the Life of Deicolus (the author of which may, however, have taken them from Wal., with whose work he was acquainted).

The episode of Fridiburga must be assigned to 613, the year of Sigebert's short reign. There are several difficulties in accepting the story. Sigebert can at the time have been only a boy. Neither Gunzo nor Johannes are known to us save from the biographies of St. Gall. According to Wal. I. 13 the See of Constance

was left vacant by the death of Gaudentius and was offered to Gall in 613; but later, after a lapse of three years [1] (ch. 23, 24) we find it still unoccupied. Now it is unlikely that the election of a bishop would have been deferred so long. Moreover we are told that the election took place on the Sunday after Easter, and Columbanus was still alive at the time, as appears from ch. 24; but three years from 613 would bring us to 616 and Columbanus, it is pretty certain, died in November 615; though it is possible that parts of the years 613 and 615 may have been counted as full years. Finally, the bishops mentioned as present at the election all belonged to external Sees [2] and it is improbable that Gunzo would have had the right of summoning them. There is some ground, therefore, for regarding the whole story of Fridiburga and the consecration of Johannes as a later invention which arose at the time when the monks of St. Gall were struggling to secure their independence from the See of Constance and were anxious to prove that their monastery site was originally a gift from the King of Austrasia. As a matter of fact, the monastery (as we shall presently see) was subject to the bishop of Constance till the time of Abbot Gozbert. Disputes between the monasteries and the bishops concerning the ownership of monastery lands were common in the Middle Ages, and there are other instances of pious frauds practised by the biographers of saints in order to claim independence for the monasteries in whose interests they wrote. To suppose that the Fridiburga story originated in this way does not impugn the veracity of Walahfrid, by whose time the tradition had no doubt

[1] In the metrical Life this lapse is not mentioned and the reader would gather that the election followed close on the death of Gaudentius.

[2] See *Life*, ch. 24 and note.

become established and was accepted without question. It is quite possible, however, that Gall was offered the bishopric of Constance on the death of Gaudentius and refused it or made his acceptance conditional on obtaining the consent of Columbanus.

The death of Eustasius, mentioned in ch. 28, occurred in 627 or perhaps a year or two earlier, and Walahfrid's narrative implies that Gall died soon after. If so, he cannot have lived to the age of 95, as his biographers assert; nor is the account of his final preaching at Arbon easily to be reconciled with so advanced an age. Errors in mediæval chronology are frequent, owing to the liability of Roman numerals to be misread. We are perhaps safe in assuming that Gall did not survive Eustasius long; and this view would remove some difficulties connected with the chronology of Wal. ii. 1 (see note 62). He died on October 16, on which day his obit was generally celebrated. According to the biographers, his remains were at once removed for burial to the site of his settlement, but this may not have taken place till a later period, when the monastery of St. Gall was regularly instituted.[1] The anniversary of Gall's translation is given as October 17 in Notker's *Necrologium*.

The cult of St. Gall was popular in the centuries following his death, and not only in Germany, for we hear of churches dedicated to him in Northern Italy.

As far as we can judge of Gall's character from the materials at our disposal, he seems to have been a man of lesser calibre than Columbanus. He possessed neither the commanding intellect of his great master nor

[1] In a deed of the year 752 we find for the first time in connection with the Church of St. Gall the formula *ubi corpus eius requiescit* (where his body rests), common in documents after that date. See Wartmann, *Urkundenb.* No. 16.

his power of organization and rule; though there is evidence to show that he was a scholar, an able linguist, and capable of zeal and energetic action when occasion called for it. He appears on the whole to have been unambitious, retiring, fond of solitude and outdoor pursuits (at any rate fishing) and of lovable nature; more human, perhaps, than Columbanus. He was a zealous ascetic and the Rule of Columbanus, which he practised himself and transmitted to his immediate followers, was remarkable for its austerity. In judging, however, of mediæval asceticism it is well to bear two considerations in mind. In the first place, these austerities did not appear so extreme to the ruder ages in which they were practised as they do to us, who are accustomed to a widely different standard of civilization—probably too of different nervous organization. In the next place be it remembered that every age has its own ideals in religion, generally the opposites of its besetting vices. To the grossness, sensuality and unbridled licence which pervaded European society in the time of the Merovingian kings,[1] the Christian monks opposed an ideal which asserted the supremacy of spirit over body and set a special value on self-control and chastity. The greatness of the evil called for a drastic remedy; and the austerities of the mediæval saints no doubt helped average men to attain a higher level of decency.

As for the numerous miracles recorded by Walahfrid, it will be noticed that nearly all belong to a period subsequent to Gall's death; to the saint himself no act is ascribed which can be strictly termed miraculous (unless we except the healing of Fridiburga). To judge of the miraculous element in hagiography, it is necessary to understand something of the mentality of the Middle

[1] See the picture given by Thierry in the *Récits des Temps Merovingiens*.

Ages, widely different from our own. The mediæval mind revelled in the marvellous and accepted in its full extent the dictum *Credo quia impossibile.* In incidents which we attribute to the operation of natural laws or set down as chance or coincidence, it beheld divine intervention or diabolic agency. The wind howling round the mountain-tops by night suggested to it the voice of demons (i. 7) ; a haul of fish or the capture of a bird in time of scarcity (i. 28, ii. 5) was a proof that the Lord provided for the needs of His servants ; if a lamp fell to the ground and was found unbroken (ii. 35), it was because divine power had interfered to save it. The greater number of the miracles said to have been performed at the shrine of St. Gall are, however, miracles of healing, and I find no great difficulty in accepting these, or most of them, as facts. Such cures are attested in all ages and are frequent enough in our own day to baffle the ingenuity of physicians and psychical researchers to account for them. The principal factor in them appears to be the faith of the patient in the healing power ; it is not then surprising that they should have been common in an age when such faith was universal, child-like and unquestioning. The belief in the miraculous which assisted the faithful to obtain their petitions often led to the voluntary confession of the culprit, who was ready to discern in every trivial occurrence the action of unseen witnesses and avengers of his crime (ii. 7, 8, 25). No doubt suggestion played its part in bringing about many of these miracles ; it will be observed that St. Gall's votaries, before receiving his aid, were frequently favoured with a vision of the saint himself as a venerable old man.

There is another class of supernormal powers often attributed to the saints which I find no difficulty in

accepting : the powers namely of prescience, clairvoyant vision and the like. Of this class is the vision of St. Gall recorded by Walahfrid (i. 26), in which the death of Columbanus was revealed to him at the very time it occurred. Modern science is coming at last to admit, though it cannot explain, the existence of such psychic faculties in our nature, latent in the greater number, but occasionally waking to activity in some. It is likely, I think, that they were developed in many of the early saints by the kind of life they led, spending much of their time in solitude and intense meditation, acquiring complete control over the senses and strengthening their wills by austere and persistent discipline.

III. The Monastery of St. Gall

About the year 614 Gall founded his little settlement on the banks of the Steinach in what was then a 'wilderness' (*heremus*), on the site of the town which bears his name. There he built a small church or oratory with cells around it for his followers, who perhaps never exceeded twelve in number. After his death the church and settlement appear to have been kept up. The earliest record extant of them is a deed drawn up about 700 for Gottfried, duke of Alemannia, granting land at Biberburg in Würtemberg for the upkeep of the church, the pastor of which, Magulfus,[1] had appealed to him for support. From 700 on similar documents are common ; in one drawn up some time after 720 the church is said to be dedicated to St. Gall and St. Desiderius (Didier of Vienne). In 720 Otmar or Audemar, a priest in the service of Victor, Count of Rhætia, was appointed abbot, and under him the cloister was regularly instituted under the Benedictine Rule and

[1] *Magulfus presbyter et pastor Sancti Galluni*, Wartm. No. 1.

received from King Pepin a subsidy in the form of rents of certain tenants of the Crown.

From the time of Otmar we have no lack of materials for the history of the monastery, for we possess a full chronicle, the *Casus Monasterii Sancti Galli*, written by four monks of St. Gall in succession. These writers were Ratpert of Thuringia, whose share extends to the death of Abbot Hartmuot (about 883); Ekkehard (generally known as Ekkehard IV to distinguish him from others of the same name)[1] who wrote before 1071 and carried the chronicle down to about 980; Burckhard who continued it to the opening years of the thirteenth century, and Conrad of Fabaria, whose work breaks off in the abbotship of Conrad of Bussnang (1226–1239). Of these four, all writers of merit, the palm must be given to Ekkehard, whose contribution is by far the most considerable both in length and value. Though dealing with events prior to his own time, he had so fully imbibed the monastery traditions that he writes with the vividness of an eyewitness; he has an artistic sense of the value of detail; he knows how to seize and throw into relief the salient traits of character in his personages and presents them to us with dramatic realism as they spoke and acted; and in his work we have a picture of the internal life of a monastery in the ninth and tenth centuries such as has perhaps no equal in monastic literature.

After the fall of Otmar in 753 through the machinations of Counts Warinus and Ruodhart (related by Wal. ii. 14), Sidonius, bishop of Constance, made a determined effort to bring the monastery under his

[1] There were five Ekkehards of St. Gall's: (*a*) Ekkehard I, generally called *Decanus* or *Senior*,† about 973; (*b*) his nephew E. II, called *Junior* or *Palatinus*, † 996; (*c*) E. III, or *Minor*, a cousin of the foregoing; (*d*) E. IV, author of the *Casus S. Galli*,† 1071; and (*e*) E. V. or *Minimus*, who about 1220 wrote the Life of S. Notker Balbulus.

power and to this end appointed Johannes, a monk of Reichenau, as abbot, an agreement[1] being made between the two that the monastery should pay the bishopric an annual tribute of an ounce of gold and a horse of specified value. On the death of Sidonius (*c.* 760) Johannes succeeded him as bishop, holding at the same time the abbacies of Reichenau and St. Gall. When Johannes died in 780, the monks chose one of themselves, Waldo, as abbot; but Egino, who had meantime become bishop, pressed his claims on the monastery and persecuted Waldo, who at last retired to Reichenau; in his place Egino appointed an outsider named Werdo. About 811 or later Egino was succeeded as bishop by Wolfleoz who had been a monk of St. Gall and from whom therefore the monks hoped for better treatment. In this they were disappointed, for 'his little finger proved thicker than the loins of his predecessors.' In 816 Gozbert became abbot, 'a man of lofty stature, commanding wisdom and dignified bearing.' Under him the monks laid their grievances before the emperor Louis le Débonnaire and received from him in 818 a charter providing that the monastery should be freed from external jurisdiction and made directly dependent on the Crown. In a subsequent charter of 833 Louis granted them the right of electing their own abbot.[2] Under Gozbert, some time before 830, the old church of St. Gall was pulled down and a new basilica erected, which took seven years to build. On its completion it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Gall, the ceremony being performed in presence of an august gathering by bishop Wolfleoz, who attributed the cure

[1] Subsequently confirmed by Charlemagne in a deed of 780 still extant, in which it is explicitly stated that the monastery was dependent on the See. (Wartm., No. 92).

[2] Wartm., Nos. 234 and 344.

of his gout to the merits of the saint. Gozbert did much else for the monastery, including the foundation of a library, for which (as we have seen) he engaged Wettinus and afterwards Walahfrid to write the life of St. Gall. He resigned his office on account of age in 836. After the short rule of his successor Bernwig, in 841 King Louis the German appointed his chaplain or secretary Grimald to the abbotship. The monks were alarmed at this invasion of their right of election, but Grimald proved a wise and beneficent abbot, jealous of the privileges of the abbey. In 854 he came to an agreement with Solomon, bishop of Constance, by which, on concession of certain properties, the monastery was to be freed from all future claims to authority or tribute on the part of the See. This agreement was confirmed by two several charters [1] from King Louis, one declaring the monastery independent of the See, the other placing it under the Crown and giving the monks the right of electing their abbot. From this year dates the final autonomy of the monastery.

As Grimald was often absent on the king's business, he obtained leave to appoint a *procurator* or vice-abbot and chose for this office Hartmuot.[2] In later years Hartmuot became virtual abbot; for as Grimald grew old he retired from most of his public duties and devoted himself to religion, 'and though he wore not the monk's habit, in practice and in heart he was a monk.' When he died in 872, Hartmuot succeeded to the title also.

Under Grimald and Hartmuot much was done for the abbey. The dwellings and workshops of the monks were improved, a separate residence was built for the abbot, and the decoration of the church was taken in

[1] Both dated Ulm, July 22, 854 (Wartm., Nos. 433, 434).
[2] Or Hartmut, the ordinary German form; the -uo- is characteristic of the Alemannic dialect.

hand. Hartmuot also built a small church dedicated to St Otmar, to which the remains of that saint were transferred. He was moreover a lover of books and added a large number to the library, including, besides copies of the Scriptures, works of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Victorinus, Cassiodorus, Bede, Origen, the Etymologies of Isidore, the Antiquities of Josephus, the Rules of Benedict and Basil, the Chronicle of Eusebius, Priscian's Grammar, Orosius, the *Polyhistor* of Solinus, the Consolation of Boethius, the biographies of Jonas and Walahfrid and others. Some of these were copied for his own use in dainty caligraphy (*iocundâ scripturâ*) and he bequeathed them to the monastery, leaving an imprecation on the head of any one who should dare to purloin them—thefts of books from libraries were not uncommon in those days. The abbey was also enriched by gifts of land from King Charles the Fat, successor of Louis the German, amongst them that of a hill called Mons Victorinus[1] from a chapel on it dedicated to St. Victor. At the time there was living on it an Irish incluse named Eusebius, 'who for thirty years had served the Lord there enclosed of his own free will.'[2]

In 883 Hartmuot resigned his office and was succeeded by Bernhard. Here Ratpert breaks off his history and Ekkehard IV takes up the pen, but to render his narrative complete goes back upon some of the ground traversed by his predecessor.

Under Grimald and Hartmuot the schools of St. Gall acquired fame and were resorted to by many students. Like most mediæval monasteries, St. Gall had two schools: the outer school (*schola canonica*), for boys intended for a secular career, being outside the monastery, the inner or cloister school (*schola claustralis*),

[1] The Victorsberg near Feldkirch.
[2] See Appendix A.

for those destined for monastic life, situated within the monastery confines.[1] At the time of which we speak these schools were directed by two scholars of repute, Iso and Marcellus. Before Iso was born his mother dreamt that she brought forth a hedgehog and that a number of little boys, running up, plucked out its quills and scribbled with them over her walls. Her husband consulted the incluse Eusebius about this dream and received the following interpretation: 'Your wife will give birth to a son whom you will dedicate to St. Gall; he will become a great teacher, stern in discipline, and will arm many boys with styles' (i.e. pens or quills). Accordingly young Iso was in due time sent to St. Gall's, where he ultimately became a monk and head of the canonical school. So great was his repute as a teacher that it was said he could sharpen obtuse wits, and even those whose wits he failed to sharpen were proud of having been his pupils. King Rudolph of Burgundy begged his services from Abbot Grimald for a season to instruct the monks in one of his own abbeys. On the conclusion of this work Iso asked the abbot for an extension of leave and spent some years agreeably enough in travelling (*in benignâ peregrinatione*) with an occasional visit to the monastery. At last he died of fever on one of his journeys, regretting that he was far from St. Gall's and could not be buried there.

The master of the cloister school was an Irishman whose real name was Moengal, but who was generally called Marcellus after his uncle Marcus, an Irish bishop. Uncle and nephew came to the Abbey on their way from Rome that they might visit their countryman St. Gall. Yielding to the persuasion of the Abbot and monks,

[1] In a plan of the monastery belonging to the year 820 both schools are given, the outer one a little to the north of the church, the inner to the east of it.

they dismissed their retinue and stayed, and subsequently Marcellus was placed over the monastery school, for he was proficient alike in divinity and secular lore. Among his pupils were Notker Balbulus, Ratpert and Tutilo, whom he guided through 'the seven liberal arts' — to wit, grammar, dialectic, rhetoric (the *trivium*), arithmetic, music, grammar and astronomy—or astrology (the *quadrivium*).

To be instructed by Iso there came to St. Gall's a boy named Salomo (or Solomon) of Ramschwag, of a noble family which possessed a castle of that name on the river Sitter. He was a favourite with Iso and during his stay conceived a warm affection for the monastery which lasted throughout his life. On leaving he presented Abbot Grimald with some land in the neighbourhood and was at his own request made a *frater conscriptus* [1] with the privilege of a seat at the refectory table whenever he visited the monastery. Soon after he went to the court of Louis the German and having taken orders was made the King's chaplain and subsequently canon of Ellwangen and Kempten. He often returned to St. Gall's, near which he had built a house for himself and a church dedicated to the Saint and the Holy Cross. On one of these visits he made his way on three successive nights into the cloisters (*penetralia claustri*), which were rigidly denied to all save monks, barefooted and cowled [2] in order that, if seen, he might pass for a monk. The brethren got wind of the nocturnal visitor and on the third night set Ratpert and Tutilo to watch, with the result that Solomon was detected. There

[1] i.e. an honorary member of the fraternity; a distinction sometimes bestowed on influential visitors or patrons, lay as well as clerical.

[2] Monks wore over the tunic and dalmatic, a loose robe with wide sleeves called *cuculla*, *cappa* or *roccus*.

happened to be in the cloisters at the moment one of the senior monks named Ruggerus. To him Solomon made confession and begged his intercession with the Abbot (now Hartmuot) that he might be accorded the privilege of entering the cloisters. Accordingly on the morrow when Hartmuot and the elder brethren met in conclave, Ruggerus laid Solomon's petition before them and though several were opposed to granting it, the Abbot thought it prudent to do so, as Solomon, because of his wealth and high connections, might have it in his power to injure the monastery if offended. So Solomon got leave to enter the cloisters whenever he liked, by day or night, in a monk's habit, a corner being assigned to him where he might change his attire on entry and exit. In return he bestowed some valuable gifts on the abbey, including a gold shrine filled with relics. Ruggerus thereupon counselled him earnestly to give himself to the abbey instead of his gold: and not long after, in the abbotship of Bernhard, he became a monk. He did not, however, remain in the monastery, but returned to the court, being shortly after made abbot of Reichenau. On the death of Bernhard in 890 he was chosen abbot of St. Gall and a year or two later became bishop of Constance, holding all three offices together; but St. Gall's seems to have held the highest place in his regard. Of this Solomon Ekkehard IV has given us a life-like portrait. He was a man of fine presence, eloquent in speech, skilled in penmanship (an accomplishment highly prized in those days) and with a pretty knack of Latin verses; worldly in many respects, influential in court and councils of state and fond of good fare and conviviality (though never exceeding due limits), yet not without devout aspirations and strict in his observance of charities and such religious duties as foot-washing in Lent; with a grain of malice in his

composition, which often led him to indulge in sarcasm and mild practical jokes ; but on the whole of a humane and kindly disposition, willing to be at peace with all men and forgiving towards his enemies. He was given to boasting and was susceptible to flattery, a weakness which he frankly acknowledged, but excused in himself as one to which the best men were prone—' For what man, howsoever holy, but would rather his words and deeds were accepted than thrown away ? ' He proved at any rate a good friend to St. Gall's and used his rank and influence at court to promote its prosperity. His abbotship was not altogether free from troubles. The benefactions of King Arnulf (887–899) excited against him the envy of the brothers Berchtold and Erchinger, the fiscal procurators of Suevia or Swabia, who on one occasion attempted to seize him, but unsuccessfully. For this outrage they were summoned before King Arnulf at Mayence and condemned to imprisonment, but at Solomon's entreaty were let off and a reconciliation was effected in the King's presence. It was not of long duration ; soon after Solomon invited the brothers to a banquet at Constance where he provoked their resentment anew by some injudicious boasting anent St. Gall's—especially its oven and kitchen apparatus.

It was probably in 911 that Conrad of Franconia, who had been elected king that year, spent Christmas at the monastery and was much delighted with all he saw there, especially the festival processions in the church. As the children's procession was marching past, the king threw a number of apples on the pavement ; not a single child moved from its place to pick one up, a proof of discipline which greatly pleased him. On the day of the Holy Innocents the king entered the refectory unexpectedly as the monks were going to dinner and invited himself as a guest. The *præpositus* made

excuses for the meagre fare, saying : ' It is unlucky for us, king, that you did not wait till to-morrow, for then we should have shelled beans and wheaten bread, but we have none to-day.' ' God,' answered Conrad, ' will look after you to-morrow.' During the meal he called to him the boys who (as was the custom in monasteries) read aloud in turns at the lectern and placed a gold coin in the mouth of each ; one child spat it out in fright, whereupon the king observed : ' If this boy lives, he will be a good monk later on.' On rejoining the bishop, who had been entertaining the rest of the royal party, Conrad declared he had never enjoyed a feast so much in his life. Next morning he was made a *frater conscriptus* and after the ceremony made some valuable gifts to the monastery and asked for three days' holidays for the school-children. He also announced his intention of giving a banquet to the monks that day. ' For I, being now a *frater conscriptus*, mean to dine with the brethren to-day and to season our beans with some of my own pepper.' Accordingly Mass was hurried over, the refectory was crowded at the dinner-hour, and the reader had hardly finished his verses ere the monks sat down to enjoy the abundant good fare which the king had provided. He had also sent for minstrels and players (*satyrici*) to enliven the company ; and there ensued a scene of such jollity (*tripudium*) as had never before been witnessed in the refectory of St. Gall ; though many of the elder brethren had their misgivings thereat. The king took his leave the same evening, despatched on his way by the tears and blessings of the monks.

Soon after Solomon became involved in a fresh dispute with his old adversaries Berchtold and Erchinger concerning the property of Stammen in the neighbourhood of St. Gall, on which both parties had claims. In 914 the brothers found an opportunity of revenge. One

day when Solomon was riding alone he met them and their nephew Liutfrid, accompanied by an armed retinue, and was made their prisoner. Liutfrid was for violent measures, but the uncles decided that it would be more prudent to send him to their stronghold of Diepoldisburg with a secret message to Bertha, Erchinger's wife, a woman cunning in resources and of unscrupulous character, who might be trusted to dispose of him surely and speedily. Thither accordingly Solomon was taken and was received by Bertha with dissembling hospitality. Meantime his kinsman Siegfried heard of the event and without delay collected a troop of soldiery from the district. On the third night following he took Berchtold, Erchinger and Liutfrid by surprise, seized and bound them, and then marched on Diepoldisburg, sending a message in advance to Bertha to say that her husband would be hanged if any harm befell the bishop. On hearing of his approach the garrison deserted Diepoldisburg and when Siegfried and his troop arrived, Solomon came forth to meet them and was greeted with shouts of '*Heil herro! heil liebo!*' (Hail, lord! hail, beloved!). Through his mediation Bertha was allowed to return to her family, her property being respected, and on parting the bishop even invited her to visit him at Constance when better times should arrive; he also showed a forgiving spirit towards her husband. King Conrad, who was then in France, was filled with wrath when he heard what had taken place; he summoned a general Council at Mayence soon afterwards at which the three culprits were condemned to death and their territory forfeited to the Crown, only Bertha's dowry being restored to her. Solomon interceded for their lives and secured a respite, but they were finally executed by the king's orders (916). The bishop took this act greatly to heart and allowed them a church burial.

Some time after these events Solomon, who blamed himself for causing the death of his enemies, made a journey to Rome, where he spent a while in penitence and received absolution from the Pope. On his return home he brought with him many relics, among them the body of St. Pelagius, on whose festival he had been rescued from captivity. Henceforth he led an exemplary life, devoting himself to prayer and good works. Not long after, his life-long friend Hatto, archbishop of Mayence, paid a visit to Constance on his way to Rome. Hatto possessed many gold shrines and other valuable works of art, and not trusting overmuch in his people of Mayence, he brought his treasures to Constance to place in Solomon's care during his absence. Both Hatto and Solomon were men of ready wit and ingenuity, given to little jokes at each other's expense. During his visit Hatto succeeded by a ruse in getting from his friend a costly gold tankard, and Solomon vowed inwardly to be even with him. It was agreed on parting that if Hatto should die on his journey, Solomon was to dispose of his treasures for the profit of both their souls. About a month later merchants returning from Italy brought a rumour of Hatto's death, and Solomon, without waiting for confirmation of the tidings, opened the treasures and made use of a number of them, his own tankard included, in constructing a gold shrine set with gems for the body of St. Pelagius and similar works, wherein he was assisted by the skill of Tutilo and other monks, for St. Gall's possessed able craftsmen. In course of time Hatto returned and on drawing near Constance heard with great indignation of this premature disposal of his property. When Solomon came forth to meet him, Hatto at first would not speak to his friend ; until at last Solomon said : ' Of this you may be sure, comrade (*sodalis*, the term they were wont to use in addressing each other),

that my tankard, which I might lawfully have kept in my own possession, was the first thing I disposed of for the good of your soul. Moreover, I would have you know that I have dealt very well by you. For the alms which go before death are more certain and more acceptable to God than those which follow it. Even if you return safe to your own people (which you cannot be sure of doing), they will give you very little of your shrines when you are dead.' Hatto was appeased—especially as it turned out that a great part of his property was still intact—and they parted as good friends as ever. Shortly after his return to Mayence he died of a fever. 'So, it may be,' comments Ekkehard, 'our Solomon, with wisdom equal to that of his namesake of old, had redeemed his friend's soul with his friend's gold even without his consent, and by adroit dealing had won his consent in the end.'

The last Easter festival that Solomon lived to see was spent at St. Gall's. On the Saturday preceding Palm Sunday he set out from Constance, taking with him a retinue and a goodly store of provisions, and reached the abbey in the afternoon. There he spent the rest of the day engaged in attending religious service and in the *mandatum* [1] (foot-washing) and other ministrations to the poor. The next day he had a procession to his church of the Holy Cross, where he held an open-air service, and after preaching to the assembled multitude invited them to break bread with him. The viands were served on the spot, and 'how much was consumed that day, the Lord only knows!' After Easter Solomon returned to the court and procured from king Conrad a charter confirming

[1] *Mandatum* 'command' (so called from John xiii. 14) was the rite of washing the feet of the poor, practised during Lent and especially on Holy Thursday (hence the name Maundy Thursday).

his numerous donations to the abbey. The following Christmas found him at St. Gall's again. On the morning after Innocents' Day he prepared to return to Constance and, after bidding the monks farewell, looked in at the school on his way. It was the scholars' established privilege on that day to capture any outsider (*exlex*) who might enter and hold him fast till he promised a ransom; they now laid hold on Solomon, declaring 'Tis the bishop, not our lord abbot, we seize,' and placed him in the master's seat. Solomon, entering into the spirit of the situation, asked them what ransom they would have; whereupon they all addressed him one by one in Latin, the older scholars in improvised verses, the younger with such vocabulary as was at their command. The bishop was delighted with their proficiency, kissed them all and promised a ransom; and before leaving the monastery he summoned the head monks and directed that the scholars should henceforth have yearly three days' holiday with meat and special fare at the abbot's expense, a custom kept up for some time afterwards. On his return to Constance Solomon fell ill and died on the eve of the Epiphany (920).

The period covered by the abbotships of Hartmuot and Solomon was one of the most prosperous in the history of the abbey, when it stood high in repute for learning and piety and in external influence. Ekkehard delights to record such testimonies as that of Adelbert, bishop of Augsburg, who after a visit to St. Gall's declared: 'I went to visit a single saint and that a departed one; but I found living brethren who were saints indeed.' To this period belong three of the best-known among the scholars and artists whom the abbey produced, Notker Balbulus (the 'Stammerer'), Tutilo and Ratpert. These three had been pupils together under Iso and afterwards under Marcellus and remained

united throughout life, though they were unlike each other in many respects.

Notker, 'a stammerer in speech but not in spirit,' of a frail body and a gentle and retiring disposition, seemed destined from his childhood to the career of a saint (he was at a later time canonized); he never knew any desires or interests outside his cloister, where he passed his life between his religious duties, his books and his psalter, for he was an accomplished musician and hymn-writer. Though timid by nature, he could show a brave face to the devil, and there is an interesting story told how once in the crypt of the church he encountered a fiend in the form of a dog and put him to flight with the aid of St. Gall's *cambutta* or pastoral staff; the fiend crying out in German as he fled '*Owê mir owê*!' (Woe is me!), for devils, it appears, do not speak Latin. Notker had also at times the gift of prophetic vision. Once when king Charles the Fat visited the monastery, his secretary (*capellanus*), a man who had no small conceit of himself, passed with some companions by the spot where Notker was sitting and said to them, 'Look, yonder is the man who is said to the most learned in Charles' kingdom. But if you like, I will raise a laugh at him by asking him a question he won't be able to answer for all his learning.' They approached Notker, who rose from his seat with deference and inquired their pleasure. 'We have heard, most sapient sir,' said the secretary, 'that you know everything. We should like you to tell us, if you can, what God is doing in Heaven at this moment.' 'I can tell you very well,' replied the monk; 'He is doing what He has always done and will shortly do for you; He is exalting the humble and abasing the proud.' A little later the king took his departure and all assembled to see him ride away with his train, the secretary being mounted before him and

bearing the *labarum* or royal standard of gold in the form of a cross ; but as they were leaving the monastery gate, the secretary's horse shied and threw him, breaking his leg. He was left behind in the Abbot's care and on his sick-bed sent for Notker that he might ask his pardon and his blessing.

Tutilo on the other hand seems to have been a type of the muscular Christian, and an amusing story is told of how he once with Ratpert's aid (having first turned the gentle Notker out of the room) inflicted a well-merited drubbing on another monk, an inveterate mischief-maker, whom they had caught in the act of eavesdropping. On another occasion when travelling through a forest with two companions, he gave efficacious aid in putting to flight two robbers by whom they were attacked. He was a man of ready wit and speech and so prompt at a jest that king Charles sometimes cursed the individual, whoever he was, who had made such a man a monk ; withal fervent in his private devotions. He was an accomplished musician and gave instruction in music to the pupils of noble birth, and he excelled in painting and in carving. In the exercise of these latter arts he often travelled to other monasteries ; and once, at Metz, when he was executing a figure of the Virgin in bas-relief, strangers entering the church beheld light streaming from his fingers and the Virgin herself standing by him to direct him. Ratpert [1] was before all else a scholar and teacher ; he rarely set foot outside the cloister and probably did not wear out the two pairs of shoes which we are told he got yearly. Devotion was not his strong point, and he sometimes stayed away from Mass, alleging that to teach others how to say Masses was as good as hearing them oneself.

[1] This Ratpert was the author of the first part of the *Casus S. Galli*.

The rule of Solomon's successor Hartmann was uneventful; but the next Abbot Engelbert (924–933) saw troubled times. In the year 925 the Huns or Hungarians invaded Norica, attacked Augsburg, where they were turned aside by the prayers of the saintly bishop Vodalricus (or Ulrich), and then overran Alemannia. Their coming was foretold by the incluse Wiborada who dwelt near the monastery in a cell, in which she had been enclosed some years before by bishop Solomon with due religious ceremonies. She sent for Engelbert and gave him warning and advice as to the best measures for securing the monastery, but could not be persuaded to seek refuge herself, although she foresaw her own martyrdom. Accordingly Engelbert set to work and provided his monks with arms defensive and offensive, manufactured out of sieves, stakes and such gear; he also constructed a fortified hiding-place on the river Sitter, to which the monks retired, carrying all the monastery treasures with them; the aged men and boys were sent across the lake to Wasserburg. Only one monk, Heribald, who was weak-witted, refused to leave the monastery because the bursar (*camerarius*) had not yet given him leather for his shoes that year. When the Huns arrived, they found the place deserted and nothing left to plunder. They stayed for some time, bivouacking in the monastery precincts, and were kind to Heribald, who amused them; at his artless protest when they were ransacking the wine-cellar—'Hold, good sir! what do you mean us to drink after you have gone?'—they even left two jars of wine unopened. They tried indeed to set fire to the buildings, but without success. They also broke into Wiborada's cell and inflicted on her the martyrdom which she had foreseen and perhaps desired. At last, alarmed by reports of their scouts, they moved away towards Constance. The monks

returned when all was safe and lost no time in clearing away all traces of the visitors. When Heribald was asked how he liked the Huns: 'Very well indeed,' he replied; 'I never remember to have seen such jolly fellows in our cloister; and they were right lavish with meat and drink—gave me as much liquor as I wanted, more than I would have ever got from our stingy cellarer!'

A still more serious misfortune occurred in 937 under the next abbot, Thieto (933–940). Some of the monastery pupils had played a prank which called for castigation and one of them was sent upstairs to fetch a bundle of rods; he took the opportunity to set fire to a rafter and then give the alarm, hoping to create confusion and thus escape his whipping. The roof caught fire and a conflagration ensued which did much damage to the buildings. The relics of St. Gall and St. Otmar and some other treasures were saved, but much was burnt or purloined subsequently during the salvage operations. During re-building the monks were without proper quarters and got into habits of straying and other irregularities with which poor Thieto, who was old, was powerless to cope. At last he resigned in favour of his half-brother Cralo. Cralo was a martinet and succeeded in restoring discipline; but his severity and other unamiable traits of his character made him exceedingly unpopular with the monks and once nearly cost him his abbotship. At last he was fain to leave most of his authority in the hands of the Dean, Ekkehard—the first of his name to play an important rôle in the history of the Abbey. Ekkehard was a learned man who had spent some time in Rome, and was the author of several hymns and other writings, including a life of the incluse S. Wiborada, which he left unfinished. In his young days he had attempted an ambitious poem in Latin

hexameters, *Waltharius manufortis* (Walter Strong-arm), on a story taken from the times of the Hunnish king Attila, but his riper judgment condemned the performance. In the following century it was taken in hand, at the request of Aribo, archbishop of Mayence, by Ekkehard IV (the chronicler), who found it full of barbarisms and Teutonic idioms and re-wrote it in the form in which we now possess it.[1] On Cralo's death (958) the Dean would have been made Abbot but for the fact that he had shortly before been lamed by a fall from his horse; so a younger monk, Burkhard, was chosen instead. This Burkhard was of noble rank, the son of Count Ulrich and Wendilgart, a lady related to the reigning family.[2] There were romantic circumstances connected with his birth. His father had been carried off prisoner to Hungary and as it was reported that he was dead, his wife, under the inspiration of Wiborada, took the veil. Four years after his capture the count was set free and returned home in the disguise of a beggar. Wendilgart was released from her vows by the bishop and the pair were married anew, the fruit of their union being Burkhard. His mother had vowed that her child, if a boy, should be dedicated to St. Gall, and as she died at his birth, little Burkhard was brought up in the monastery. There his beauty and gentle nature made him a general favourite, and owing to his extreme delicacy he was spared the rod, then deemed an indispensable instrument of education. On becoming

[1] J. V. Scheffel has given a German translation in his novel *Ekkehard*—where, however, it is erroneously ascribed to Ekkehard Palatinus. Readers of Scheffel's charming romance should bear in mind that he has fully availed himself of the licence accorded to the novelist.

[2] Wendilgart was grand-daughter of Emperor Henry the Fowler and therefore a niece of Otto I. Hadwig duchess of Swabia was her first cousin, being likewise Henry's grand-daughter.

abbot, he suffered himself to be guided in all things by the advice of Dean Ekkehard. He was of most generous disposition and carried almsgiving almost to excess ; but in this particular Ekkehard did not perhaps check him, for he himself had the same weakness. We have an amusing account of a beggar of Gaulish or French origin, apparently a cripple, who came to the monastery and was by the Dean's orders taken in and given a hot bath. So hot it was that he cried out in the French vernacular (*Gallice rustice*) '*Kalt, kalt est!*' (It is hot, hot! O. Fr. *chalt* = Lat. *calidum*); these words the attendant taking for German understood to mean 'It is cold,' [1] and accordingly he poured in more and more scalding water, till at last the bogus cripple jumped out of the bath and ran away, effectively cured of his infirmity.

In Abbot Burkhard's days another Ekkehard comes into prominence, the nephew of the Dean, generally surnamed Junior or Palatinus. He was attractive in person as well as gifted in intellect and became master of both the schools, where he turned out some scholars who afterwards became noteworthy men. But his most distinguished pupil was Hadwig, duchess of Swabia, who lived in her castle of Dwiel or Hohentwiel to the north of Lake Constance. Hadwig was the daughter of duke Henry of Bavaria and was in her girlhood betrothed to the Greek king Constantine, who sent his emissaries to teach her the Greek language and to bring back her portrait. The young lady, who possessed a keen and inquiring intellect, took advantage of the opportunity to become a fair Greek scholar, but constantly frustrated

[1] The early French pronunciation of *chalt* = *chaud* no doubt approximated that of *chalt*, the Alemannic form of *kalt* 'cold,' initial *k* being generally represented by *ch* (an *affricata*) in Alemannic.

the painter's efforts to catch her likeness by making faces; and in the end the match, which was not to her taste, was broken off. Subsequently she married duke Burkhard of Swabia, an aged man, who died soon after, leaving her ruler of his dominions. She was a beautiful woman, but seems to have been something of a virago, being feared not a little by her subjects and neighbours. As she was a kinswoman of Abbot Burkhard, she sometimes visited the abbey, where she made the acquaintance of Ekkehard Junior and asked that he might come to Dwiel for a time to be her teacher. Neither the abbot nor the dean were in favour of the proposal; but the duchess was an influential personage and generally succeeded in getting her own way. So Ekkehard went to Dwiel, and was treated with the honour due to a master by the duchess, who assigned him an apartment near her own, where she read Latin with him at all times of the day. To safeguard proprieties, her maid was always present at the lessons and the doors were left open. There does not appear to have been anything romantic in their relations, for the duchess had established an almost monastic discipline in her household, and we are told that her imperious and occasionally violent temper often made Ekkehard wish himself back at St. Gall's. Nevertheless, gossip, as is usual in such circumstances, was not idle and found a ready credence among those who, for reasons of their own, wished to think ill of the abbey and its monks. Among these was Ruodmann, abbot of Reichenau,[1] who was jealous of the rival monastery and lost no opportunity of slandering it. On one occasion he came secretly to St. Gall's by night and penetrated to the

[1] So Ekkehard styles him; but R. did not become Abbot of Reichenau till 972 and probably occupied some lower office at this time (*c.* 965).

monks' dormitory, where he hid himself, hoping by eavesdropping to learn something which might thereafter serve his spite. He was discovered by Ekkehard Junior himself, who had returned to the monastery for a short visit, and a lively scene ensued; the dean and other seniors were summoned and Ruodmann was not suffered to depart till he had made an abject apology.

On returning to Dwiel once after a few days' leave at St. Gall's, Ekkehard took with him one of the monastery pupils named Burkhard, a clever and handsome boy.[1] When the duchess came for her next lesson, she noticed the lad and asked why he was there. 'I have brought him,' said Ekkehard, 'to pick up some Greek from you;' and the boy himself, who had a knack at Latin verses, came out promptly with a hexameter:

'Scarcely a Latinist yet, a Grecian I fain would become.'[2]

The duchess, pleased with his ready wit, kissed him, made him sit on a stool beside her and asked him to make some more verses; whereupon the boy, though somewhat intimidated by so unusual a favour, produced a distich:

'Though fain t' obey, I fear to do amiss;
What verse of mine were worth my lady's kiss?'[3]

The duchess, forgetting her usual severity, laughed heartily and taught young Burkhard to sing a Greek hymn which she had translated herself from the Latin and to pronounce his Greek like a native (*graecissare docuit*); and when he left she gave him a Horace and some other books to take with him. Soon after, she presented the abbot with a palfrey; a gift of ill-omen, for the first time he

[1] Who afterwards became Abbot Burkhard II (1001–22).
[2] *Esse velim Graecus cum vix sim, Domna, Latinus.*
[3] *Non possum prorsus dignos componere versus, Nam nimis expavi Duce me libante suāvi.*

mounted it, he was thrown against a gate-post and broke his leg. In spite of the skill and attentions of Notker Medicus (the Physician, also called Peppercorn—*Piperisgranum*—from his disciplinarian tendencies) he was obliged to go on crutches for the rest of his life.

Ekkehard did not return to St. Gall's when his tuition was at an end, for through the influence of Hadwig he was summoned to the Court of Emperor Otto I as a secretary (*capellanus*); hence his surname of Palatinus. In this situation he became a favourite with Otto's second wife, the saintly Queen Adelheid, and was able to do many a service to the monastery in times of need. Such a time was not long in coming; for Ruodmann, the inveterate enemy of St. Gall's, was still actively engaged in disseminating calumnies about the monks, who, it was alleged, held private property and led lax and luxurious lives, their abbot being an invalid and unable to enforce discipline. These reports reached Otto's ears and the consequence was that (at the suggestion of Ekkehard Palatinus) a commission of bishops and abbots, presided over by Henry archbishop of Treves, was sent to St. Gall to hold a visitation (968). The commissioners remained for some time at the monastery, examining witnesses and investigating the charges brought against the monks. Among other delinquencies they were accused of eating meat; when this charge was being discussed, one of the commissioners, Dietrich of Metz, who had been a pupil of St. Gall's, recalled that during his stay there the brothers had erred rather on the side of too meagre fare, flesh-meat being unknown amongst them except on extraordinary occasions and under special licence from the Abbot; though some of them, indeed, held fowl to be a lawful food, because birds were created at the same time as fishes. The result of the visitation was that the monastery was

fully exonerated and received high commendation for its discipline. When the commissioners met the Emperor at Mayence to submit their report, the Archbishop of Treves represented to him that the monks, far from wallowing in luxury, were often in actual need; and at the Queen's suggestion a gift of sixty pounds of silver was sent them from the royal treasury. Kepo, Abbot of Lorisham, was directed to spend a time at the abbey in order to instruct 'St. Gall's chickens' in the strict observance of the Benedictine Rule. This he did, being seconded in his efforts by the Abbot, the Dean and Ekkehard Palatinus who accompanied him. On leaving he paid a high tribute to the community, saying (in allusion to the lameness of Abbot and Dean): 'Better the rulers should halt than the realm.'

The aged Burkhard now at last desired to lay down the burden of office and devote himself to the needs of his soul. He caused the hazel-tree under which, according to tradition, St. Gall had uttered the words: '*Haec requies mea*—this shall be my rest' (Wal., I. 11) to be cut down, and built on the spot a chapel dedicated to St. Gall and the Holy Cross, having on one side a wooden chamber communicating with it by a small window. In this chamber he proposed to spend the rest of his life as an incluse, but was prevented from doing so by his friend, Bishop Conrad of Constance, who thought him too feeble for such austerities. He remained therefore in retirement within the monastery, outliving his successor, and died about 975 at a good old age, regretted by all, especially the poor. He was buried in front of his little chapel, which he was wont to call *Haec requies mea*. His life-long friend Ekkehard the Dean had died not long before and Notker the Physician followed him very soon.

Burkhard was succeeded by a monk of his own choice,

Notker, nephew to the Physician and still a young man. When the newly elected Abbot, accompanied by some of the elders of the monastery, presented himself before the Emperor at Speyer to obtain confirmation of his appointment, he was not too well received, for Otto thought him too young and somewhat disdainfully asked the other monks why, with so many hoary-headed men among them, they had chosen a mere boy. To which the sub-dean Rupert replied that among so many Marys, all choosing the better part, the abbot Burkhard had been unable to find a Martha willing to be cumbered by much serving and had therefore been forced to look among the juniors. In spite of his youth, however, Notker turned out an excellent abbot and watched zealously over the temporal as well as spiritual welfare of his flock. Though naturally of a cheerful and sprightly disposition, he was strict in discipline and insisted on the Rule being carried out in all points; though occasionally he would shut himself up for a day in order that the monks might enjoy a little licence in his absence, observing that 'if, through fear of backbiters, you keep the bow of discipline always tightly stretched, you will at last break either the bow or its cord.' He did not, however, escape calumny, nay, the very prosperity of the monastery brought it enemies. Reports reached Otto which led him to send to St. Gall's a favourite of his own, Sandrat, a monk of Cologne (whom he had wished to appoint in place of Notker), with authority to inquire into the discipline of the monastery. Sandrat spent about three months there, treated with frigid courtesy by Abbot and monks; but he proved to be little fitted to judge the conduct of others, for his own addiction to the pleasures of the table and especially his secret indulgence in strong drink led at last to a humiliating exposure and he fled from the

monastery of his own accord. Of all this Ekkehard IV gives a diverting account, and goes on to tell of a letter which was sent from St. Gall's to Ekkehard Palatinus, then at the court, describing Sandrat's visit and its upshot; Ekkehard showed it to the younger Otto and to Queen Adelheid; and the queen translated it for the benefit of the Emperor, who was not so good a Latinist as she. Some time afterwards, on the eve of the Festival of the Assumption in 972, the Emperor Otto himself paid a short visit to the abbey on his way home from Italy, accompanied by his son, and was much pleased by the state of things he found there. He asked particularly for his old friend Notker the Physician, who had formerly been his own medical adviser, and who was still alive, though aged and feeble and totally blind. When Notker was pointed out to him sitting alone and silent in his accustomed place, the younger Otto went up to him and brought him to his father, who kissed him and led him by the hand into the cloister, where he seated himself beside him. 'Oh, happy that I am, though bereft of sight, who have this day such guides as never blind man had before!' exclaimed the old monk. He gave his blessing to the Emperor and was conducted by the younger Otto back to his seat. On his departure next day the Emperor bestowed high praises on Abbot Notker and the brethren, but at the same time carried off with him some of their most valuable books. These, however, were subsequently restored through the good offices of Ekkehard Palatinus.

With the close of Notker's abbotship the chronicle of Ekkehard IV breaks off. Under his successors the monastery underwent many vicissitudes, being affected by the turmoils in which the whole empire was plunged during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ekkehard IV himself wrote in the days of Abbot Notpert (1034–72)

under whose rule we live, not indeed as he and we should like to, but as we are able.' Ekkehard's preface implies that the times were degenerate and that strict discipline was regarded as out of date; but he was perhaps inclined to be a *laudator temporis acti*. The last chronicler of St. Gall's, Conrad of Fabaria (Pfauers or Pfeffers), a fluent Latin writer possessed of considerable knowledge of the classics, dwells in an eloquent passage on the past glories of the monastery, its noble abbots, its saintly monks, its learned writers and skilled artists. His record ends abruptly in the days of Abbot Conrad of Bussnang (1226–39), an able and astute ruler, who did much to improve the finances of the abbey and increase its prestige and influence in the outer world. He spent much of his time at court, where he stood high in favour with Frederick II. Our chronicler, after dilating on his successes and the reputation he won for St. Gall's, being conscious that these successes were of a worldly order, feels it necessary to offer his readers some justification. 'You may say that he ought rather to have remained busied in the cloister. True indeed, but he served the Church better by doing as he did. Martha, it is true, complained to the Lord of her sister Mary because she gave no help in serving, and the Lord declared that Martha's part was good, but Mary's better. But if Martha had not served, Christ would not have sat at her table . . . For the dignity of rule and contemplative love

"Not well agree, nor long together dwell."

Let then the one busy itself continually with the affairs of the world; the other must be steadfastly pursued in the theoric life.' [1]

It is, indeed, a problem which all, individuals as well

[1] *Vita theorica*—See Appendix B.

as churches and cloisters, are called upon again and again to face : how to unite the part of Mary with that of Martha and to serve God while serving the world ; a problem which becomes harder of solution as they advance in temporal possessions and power. St. Gall, dwelling with his twelve disciples in their rude huts in the heart of the wilderness, had perhaps but few temptations to draw him from the contemplation of things eternal to the things of this life. His successors in the later Middle Ages were temporal rulers as well as heads of a religious community, exercising sway over a wide extent of territory (that covered by the modern Cantons of St. Gall and Appenzell) and administering large revenues, and they had to incur the responsibilities and difficulties which fall to the lot of rulers. Close at hand, almost within their own gates, lay a fruitful source of trouble. The town of St. Gall was a direct offshoot of the monastery, from which it had at first no existence apart ; it may be said to owe its origin to the attempt made by Anno, who was abbot for a short spell (953–954) during the absence of Cralo, to enclose in a common fortification both the monastery buildings proper and the outlying offices and habitations of its dependents—a project completed by succeeding abbots. Thus within the enclosure was a mixed and evergrowing population of serfs and tenants, who, whether free or not, were entirely dependent on the Abbey, having no corporate rights nor any government beyond that of the Abbey officials. As this population increased in number and its members acquired substance by engaging in agriculture or other industries (that of linen-weaving seems to have been established at an early date), they grew restive under the authority of the Abbey and more inclined to assert their independence. Abbot Wilhelm de Montfort (1281–1301) who owed his reinstatement in

his office, from which he had been ejected, to the aid of the townsfolk, granted them most important concessions, notably the right of selling their houses and inheriting property. Much about the same time they obtained the privilege of electing a *Rat* or municipal Council and building a *Rathaus* or Town Hall for its meetings. Many persons, including some of rank, were drawn towards the rising town by the advantages which it offered for habitation or trade; though for a long time the right of admitting new citizens lay with the Abbots only.

The Swiss war of independence kindled the spirit of the townsmen, and throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a continuous struggle was carried on between the Abbey and its subjects, the townsmen of St. Gall and the inhabitants of Appenzell and the neighbouring districts—a struggle in which the final triumph of the latter was no doubt partly owing to the degeneracy of the Abbey itself, which never stood so low in numbers or in reputation for piety or learning as at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In 1413 the townsmen were allowed to appoint their own magistrate and exercise their own jurisdiction. At last, in 1457, on payment of a sum of 7,000 florins to the Abbey, they gained that full independence and autonomy which they had so long sought.

Under the able administration of Abbot Ulrich Rösch (1463–91), a baker's son, who had entered the Abbey originally as a scullion, but had afterwards studied and taken vows, the Abbey regained something of its old prosperity, both as regards internal order and outward prestige; so that Ulrich was often called the second founder of St. Gall's; but despite his merits he was disliked by the townspeople because of the tenacity with which he upheld the dignity and rights of the Abbey and resisted any encroachment on their part.

The Reformation helped to widen the breach between town and Abbey. In 1525 the Town Council formally declared for the reformed doctrines and appointed a commission, foremost in which was the celebrated scholar and writer Joachim von Watt (better known by his Latinized name of Vadianus), to see that they were duly propagated. Early in 1529 Abbot Franz Geisberger thought it prudent to flee from the Abbey, taking with him such valuables as he could carry. A few days later the populace broke into the church and sacked it, destroying pictures, altars and other church property; and on March 7 the first sermon of the Reformed faith was preached from the Abbey pulpit by the schoolmaster Dominick Zili, who had been appointed by the town magistrate for the purpose. In August of the following year the town bought over the Abbey and its adjacent parishes of St. Jacob, St. Leonard and St. Fiden from the Cantons of Schwyz and Zürich for 14,000 florins. However, after the Catholic party had won the battle of Kapel (August 1531) in which the Reformer Ulrich Zwingli was killed, a reaction set in favourable to the old faith, and in 1531 restitution was made of the church and cloister, with library, bells and other properties, to the new Abbot, Diethelm Blarer. Diethelm (1530–64) was a wise and enlightened ruler, who set himself earnestly to the task of restoring order and reviving religion and learning, and laid the foundations of a new library, for which he purchased many books; on his monument he was styled the third founder of the Abbey. His efforts were seconded throughout the remainder of the century and that following by a line of worthy successors, notably the learned and saintly Celestine Sfondrati (1687–96), who was later made a Cardinal and died in Rome in 1696. Under these the Abbey of St. Gall once more became a centre of intellectual and

spiritual enlightenment. In 1712 fresh troubles arose owing to the revolt of the Toggenburgers, who, abetted by the States of Berne and Zürich, attacked the town of St. Gall and forced it to capitulate and then seized the Abbey, the Abbot and monks having fled across the lake.

The French Revolution brought upheaval in Switzerland as elsewhere and in 1798–9 the town of St. Gall was occupied by French troops. The Abbot, Pancratius Forster, had already left and most of the more valuable books had been carried for safety to Mehrerau. In 1803 the Canton of St. Gall was instituted with the town of St. Gall as its capital. Two years later the Abbey was secularized and became the property of the Commonwealth. The monastery buildings were thenceforth devoted to governmental purposes, the Cathedral Church and library, however, being reserved under the control of the Catholic corporation of the Canton. Thus ended an institution which for wellnigh twelve centuries had exercised a decisive influence on the destinies of eastern Switzerland; which had won the neighbouring regions from their primitive barbarism, spreading among them the teachings of Christianity and the arts and industries necessary to human welfare and civilization; which had been a nursery of learning and science, the fame of whose school had spread far beyond the confines of Switzerland, attracting scholars from distant parts; whose abbots in their double capacity of spiritual guides and temporal rulers had helped to mould and discipline the rude people committed to their charge; and which, though like all human institutions subject to fluctuation, had yet never been wholly destitute of the spirit of reform nor failed to redeem its lapses by fresh endeavours.

IV. The Work of St. Gall's Monastery

It remains to say a few words concerning the services rendered to learning, literature and art by the monks of St. Gall.

I have already spoken of the school of St. Gall, which first became famous under Abbots Grimald and Hartmuot and long preserved its prestige among the monastery schools of Germany and Switzerland. As we have seen, there were two schools, generally under different masters, one situated outside the monastery and intended for pupils destined for a secular career, the other within the monastery for the *oblati* or youths dedicated to the cloistral life. Whether there was much difference in the curricula followed in these schools, I am unable to say; perhaps that of the outer school was more dilettante in its nature. The discipline was of a rigorous kind according to modern notions, the rod being much employed; but the boys had their privileges and their vacations, especially at Christmas-tide, the Festival of the Holy Innocents being in particular a day of licence; then books were flung aside, rules were no longer regarded, and the scholars could indulge in their 'three joys'—torches, baths and wine.[1] Latin was the chief subject taught, being indeed the medium of instruction and even of general intercourse; Ekkehard IV tells us that only very small boys (*exiles pusiones*) were allowed to speak German. The text-books in use were the grammars of Donatus, Priscian, Alcuin and Bede, and the works of Cicero, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Horace, Statius, Sallust, Terence, Juvenal, Persius and Quintilian were studied, besides those of later writers such as Solinus and Boethius. The Scriptures were,

[1] *Suppeditant festo tria gaudia . . . fax, lavacrium, vinum.*—Ekkehard's Vacation-song in the *Liber Benedictionum*.

however, the basis of instruction and the works of the Church fathers, commentators and theologians occupied an important place. Latin composition and verse-making were taught; and there was some instruction given in Greek. Nor was science neglected. Notker Labeo describes in his translation of Boethius a great celestial globe with the signs of the Zodiac marked on it, which was constructed in the days of Abbot Burkhard I; and scholars learnt the use of the astrolabe and the *tuba*—the forerunner of the modern telescope. Medicine was studied in mediæval monasteries, chiefly from the writings of Hippocrates and Galen, and at St. Gall's Notker Peppercorn seems to have attained considerable reputation as a physician and was consulted by distinguished extern patients. Finally, music, both vocal and instrumental, was an important subject of instruction; but to this we shall presently recur.

We still possess a considerable number of Latin works produced by monks of St. Gall between the ninth and twelfth or thirteenth centuries, chief among them the *Casus Monasterii Sancti Galli* of which I have already spoken. Hartmann (there were two of the name; this may have been the abbot who succeeded Solomon) wrote a history of his times which has been lost. Hepidannus, who flourished in the eleventh century, has left us a chronicle. Lives of Saints and accounts of their miracles were a favourite theme; the collection of the miracles of St. Gall made by the younger Gozbert was used, as we have seen, by Walahfrid in his biography; Iso, the master of the outer school in the days of Grimald, made a similar compilation of the miracles of St. Otmar. Ekkehard the Dean began a life of St. Wiborada based on the recollections of her contemporary Kebe, another female incluse, but did not live to finish it; but we have a life of the Saint written by Hepidannus about a century

later, which is a well-written work and contains an interesting dissertation on the various kinds of visions. About 1220 Ekkehard V (*Minimus*) wrote his Life of Notker Balbulus, in which he drew largely upon the work of his namesake the chronicler. Finally may be mentioned the short lives of St. Fridolinus and St. Fintan (both Irishmen) by unknown authors.

The scholars of St. Gall also cultivated Latin poetry, on secular as well as on religious themes, and numerous specimens of their skill are preserved to us, not all, it must be confessed, of a very high order. I have already referred to the poem *Waltharius Manufortis* in hexameters, written originally by Ekkehard the Dean and afterwards recast, in the form in which we now possess it, by Ekkehard IV at the request of Aribo, Archbishop of Mayence. It is an ambitious performance, of considerable length, displaying technical skill and acquaintance with classical models. But the Latin poetry produced by mediæval scholars in direct imitation of classical poets is for the most part exceedingly tiresome and few modern readers possess the patience needful to tackle works like the *Waltharius* or Walahfrid's *Visio Wettini*. Of far greater value and interest are the Latin devotional lyrics written in accent and rhyme, which did not owe their origin to classical poetry at all but arose directly out of the ritual of the Church. To the development of this lyrical poetry the monks of St. Gall contributed their share. In dealing with this subject it becomes necessary to say something more about the cultivation of music at St. Gall's Abbey.

The musical reputation of the Alemannians did not stand high in early times, if we may accept the testimony of the Roman singer Johannes, who passed through Switzerland on his way to Britain, whither he was sent by Pope Vitalian; he compares their singing to the

rumbling of waggons. Later Charlemagne, desiring to introduce into his dominions the Gregorian music which he had heard at Rome, applied to Pope Adrian I to send him two skilled teachers. The Pope sent two Roman musicians, Petrus and Romanus, the former of whom went to Metz, where he founded a school of music; Romanus, falling ill on the journey, halted at St. Gall's, where he finally settled and instructed the monks, so that St. Gall's became the rival of Metz as a musical centre. Romanus brought with him his Gregorian antiphonary, which was kept in St. Gall's Church and used as an authority in all matters concerning church music. This antiphonary is still preserved in the Library (Codex 359); the cover is formed of two ivory tablets carved in relief, the design representing a trellis of vine tendrils enclosing animal *motifs*, a beautiful specimen of early Italian art. Under the Irishman Marcellus, who was an accomplished musician, the musical teaching at St. Gall's made rapid progress, and his pupils Notker Balbulus and Tutilo became especially proficient. It is to the former that St. Gall's owes most of its reputation in church music; he introduced an innovation destined to have wide-reaching effects, that of the sequence. It was the custom on festival days to end the Gradual (the anthem sung before the Gospel) with a musical cadence or jubilation sustained on the final vowel *a* of the closing word *Alleluia*. These cadences, called *Neumes* and also *Sequentia* (the word was originally a neuter plural but came afterwards to be generally used as a feminine singular), were often long and hard to remember, till Notker conceived the idea of composing a corresponding set of words for each. Strictly speaking, the idea did not originate with Notker; in the preface to his *Liber Sequentium* (compiled about 885 and dedicated to Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli) he has told us how it was suggested to him. While yet a youth

he, like others, found it difficult to remember the long melodies of the *neumes* and cast about for some device to assist his memory. One day there came to the Abbey a priest from the monastery of Jumiéges which had been ravaged by the Norsemen, bringing with him his antiphonary, in which words were added to some of the sequences. The words were trivial, but the idea struck Notker as a happy one, and he forthwith tried his hand at composing sets of Latin words for the music of the sequences. After showing his first attempts to Iso, who gave him some advice and impressed upon him in particular the principle that each note of the melody should have a corresponding syllable, he wrote the sequence *Psallat Ecclesia mater illibata.* This he brought to his master Marcellus, who was so delighted with it that he had it copied and taught the choir boys to sing it. Notker's example found many imitators, and sequences continued in vogue for a century or more following. They were commonly called 'proses' (*prosae*), because, though generally more or less rhythmical, they were not in metrical form; in time, however, they borrowed from Romance poetry the embellishments of assonance, accent and rhyme and developed into liturgical hymns. Such beautiful lyrics as the *Dies Irae* of Thomas de Celano, the *Stabat Mater* of Jacopone da Todi and the hymns of Adam of St. Victor are direct descendants of the sequence and were indeed generally called *Sequentiae.* One of Notker's sequences, *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*, is said to have been composed one day in a sudden inspiration, induced by a neighbouring mill-wheel which, not having sufficient water, emitted sounds resembling the human voice.[1] Another well-known sequence

[1] This sequence is sometimes attributed to King Robert of France. The story that Notker sent it to his friend the emperor Charles the Fat, who by the same messengers sent him back the

assigned by a somewhat doubtful tradition to Notker is the *Mediâ vitiâ in morte sumus*, which he is said to have composed on seeing some workmen suspended in mid-air while building a bridge across the Martinstobel, a gorge through which the Goldach flows near St. Gall. It enjoyed such popularity in the Middle Ages that it was used as a charm to ward off death and to call down destruction on a foe and was even sung as a battle-song, till at last in the thirteenth century the Synod of Cologne forbade its use without episcopal licence.[1]

Notker's friend Tutilo was likewise a skilled musician and taught music in the monastery school. The Abbé Gautier credits him with having invented the trope, an amplification or interpolation of the liturgical text set to music. One of his tropes, *Hodie cantandus est nobis puer*, was widely known and sung in Germany.

Ratpert, the third member of the St. Gall trio, cultivated religious verse of the conventional kind in classical metres. We have a fine processional hymn of his in hexameters written for the festival of St. Gall. He also wrote a poem in the vernacular (*carmen barbaricum*) on St. Gall. This is lost; but Ekkehard IV has left us a Latin version of it in his *Liber Benedictionum*, a collection of his poems and epigrams which he compiled to please his patron Archbishop Aribo of Mayence.

The vernacular was not altogether neglected at St. Gall's, though it occupied a place secondary to Latin;

hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* which he himself had composed, is a later fiction.

[1] The following is the text given by Daniel *Thes. Hymn.* ii. 329: *Mediâ vitâ in morte sumus; quem quaerimus adiutorem nisi te, Domine, qui peccatis nostris iuste irasceris? Sancte Deus, sancte fortis, sancte et misericors Salvator, amarae morti ne tradas nos.* Other additions will be found in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 720. This antiphon suggested Luther's well-known hymn *Mitten wir im Leben sind.*—For Notker's sequences see Daniel ii. 1 ff.; and for a fuller discussion of the whole subject, see Appendix C.

it is to the monks of St. Gall that we owe some of our most valuable sources for the study of Old High German. Among the earliest glossaries of the Alemannic dialect is that to the Benedictine Rule compiled by the monk Kero. The chief worker in this department was Notker Labeo (the thick-lipped), also called Teutonicus or the German, who was master of the monastery school and died in 1022; he was a zealous cultivator of his native language, into which he translated several works, including the Psalter, the *Consolation* of Boethius and the *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* of Martianus Capella.

Irish philologists also are beholden in no small measure to the Irish monks who settled or spent a time at St. Gall's. Among the Glosses on which our knowledge of the Old Irish language in its earliest literary period is based, a very important place belongs to those written in the ninth century in the St. Gall codex of Priscian. The same codex has preserved to us three short Irish lyrics, two of them of singular beauty, as well as some incantations. The life of St. Fintan, which has been already referred to, also contains some Irish sentences.[1]

Nor were the monks of St. Gall behindhand in cultivating mechanical and plastic arts. They were the architects, builders and adorners of their own monastery and church. The monk Ermenrich of Reichenau, writing in the time of Abbot Grimald, has handed down to us the names of some of those who distinguished themselves in building Gozbert's church, among them Winihart whom he calls 'a very Daedalus', and Isenrich, 'a second Bezaleel'. Later Abbot Solomon found monks like Tutilo and others to execute for him works of art such as shrines and book-covers. The arts of penmanship and illumination, which had been carried to such

[1] For the S. Gall glosses, etc., see Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, vol. ii (Cambridge, 1903).

perfection by the Irish monks, long continued to be assiduously cultivated at St. Gall's, which produced such scribes as Folchart, who has left us the Psalter which bears his name, and Sintram of whom Ekkehard IV says that the whole world on this side of the Alps marvelled at his fingers.

V. The Library of St. Gall's

The Abbey of St. Gall has passed away; but its famous Library, the Stiftsbibliothek, survives to recall and to perpetuate its past services and glories. The Library is still housed in a part of the cloister buildings adjoining the Cathedral, in the hall built for it in 1758 (about the same time as the church) by Abbot Celestine II, a spacious and richly decorated apartment two storeys in height, with a balcony running round the upper portion and a ceiling adorned with frescoes representing the great Church Councils; above the portal outside is the inscription: ΨΥΧΗΣ ΙΑΤΡΕΙΟΝ.

The Library owed its foundation, as we have seen, to Abbot Gozbert, but its reputation dates from the days of Abbot Grimald and his successor Hartmuot. The first librarian (*bibliothecarius*) of whom we hear is Liutward, whose name occurs in documents between the years 861–872 and is also found in seven codices which he transcribed. He may have been the compiler of the oldest catalogue we possess, which was drawn up about the year 847. It is arranged in two lists, the first containing the *libri scottice scripti* or books written by Irish monks and their disciples. Of the fairly large number of books mentioned in this catalogue, but few, alas, remain at the present day.

For a library in the Middle Ages was subject to many dangers. One of these was fire; the library of St. Gall suffered in the fire of 937 and again in the great fire

which destroyed part of the town in 1314. Another constant peril in those turbulent ages was hostile invasion, and to this the Abbey was exposed many times. During the raid of the Huns in 925 the books were sent to the monastery of Reichenau for safety; when they were returned, the number was complete, but some of the volumes (it is said) were substitutes.[1] Again, there was the danger of theft. Books were precious property in those days, rare and hard to be acquired, and even persons of repute, clerics and scholars, sometimes succumbed to the temptation of purloining a volume or borrowing one without any definite intention of returning it. This type of borrower is not yet extinct. When the Council of Constance was held in 1417–18, Abbot Henry of Gundelfingen, who was an ignorant man and knew little about books, lent out many valuable codices to the ecclesiastics there assembled—most of which they took away with them. It is likely that a good many Greek texts were lost on this occasion. In the summer of 1416 the famous Italian humanist Poggio Bracciolini with two companions visited St. Gall's to hunt for classical texts; they were allowed to search the library at will by the same Abbot Henry and helped themselves to several codices, including a Quintilian which is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence.

Sometime later another humanist, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, visited the Abbey; in a letter written to a friend he speaks with respect of the library, in which he had found some beautifully written books.

Under Abbots like Ulrich VIII, who set aside a yearly sum for the purchase of books, and some of his

[1] '*Cum reportarentur, ut aiunt, numerus conveniebat, non ipsi*' says Ekkehard; but I cannot help suspecting E. of a certain animus against the monks of Reichenau.

successors, the library prospered. Abbot Diethelm Blarer laid the foundation-stone of a new library building and revived the office of librarian, which from this time on was generally filled by competent and scholarly men. In 1641 a printing press was set up at St. Gall's and soon became the foremost among the Swiss monastery presses. The library was further increased from time to time by donations and bequests from outsiders, scholars and others, such as the historian Ægidius Tschudi, the original MSS. of whose works are still preserved in it. In 1676 Louis XIV of France presented some volumes.

In July 1683 the great Benedictine scholar Johannes Mabillon visited the Abbey and spent five days there, chiefly engaged in examining the library. Of this visit he has left us an interesting account in his *Iter Germanicum*. He was very favourably impressed by all that he saw, both as regards the place, its occupants and internal economy.

By 1712 the library possessed 10,000 printed books and 1007 MSS. During the troubles of that year, however, when the town was for a time occupied by troops from Berne and Zürich, the library suffered greatly, numbers of valuable books being lost or abstracted ; a good many found their way to the libraries of Berne and Zürich and were with difficulty recovered later, if at all.

Finally, in the troubles of 1797–98 the most valuable books were removed for safety to the cloister of Mehrerau and the Abbey of Füssen and did not return to St. Gall's till seven years later, in 1804, when the monastery had passed into secular hands. Since then, however, the Library of St. Gall has enjoyed a peaceful and unchequered existence in which the events of chief importance have been the visits of eminent scholars in search of materials. The office of librarian was held from 1824

to 1833 by Ildefons von Arx, a man of great learning, indefatigable industry and somewhat rugged and uncompromising personality, whose *History of the Canton of St. Gall* centres mainly in the history of the Abbey. In many of the St. Gall codices are to be seen prefixed his valuable descriptive remarks. To his successor, Franz Weidmann, we owe a history of the Library itself.

Of the books mentioned in the Catalogue of 847, few, as I have said, now remain. Codex 60 is undoubtedly the *Evangelium secundum Johannem* given among the *libri scottice scripti*. It contains seventy pages in Irish script, with a picture of St. John (p. 4) and a decorated title-page with the words *In principio*, the pigments used being yellow and reddish-brown. It is, however, a poor specimen of early Irish art, the figure of the Apostle being particularly inferior—possibly done by a different hand from that of the *In principio*. The text is Old Latin.

Far finer examples of Irish penmanship are to be found in codices 51 and 504, neither of which is mentioned in the catalogue of 847 ; they were probably executed elsewhere and brought to St. Gall's by Irish monks. Codex 51 contains the four Gospels arranged in lessons for Church service and beautifully written, with illustrations done with pen and brush in delicate and harmonious colouring, introducing all the features peculiar to Irish decorative art—spirals, interlaced and zigzag patterns and grotesque animal forms. To each Gospel is prefixed a full-page picture of the Evangelist and another with the initial word ; besides which there is (p. 6) a richly decorated page divided into four panels, and at the end two pages representing the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment. In the former the figure of the Saviour on the Cross is swathed in purple bands with many convolutions, only the head, hands and feet being left uncovered—an unusual feature.

Codex 904 is the famous St. Gall Priscian, written in the ninth century by four or five different Irish scribes, two of whom have left their names in the work (*Calvus Patricii*, i.e. Maelpatraic, p. 157, and Donngus, p. 207). The script is a large Irish cursive and some parts are beautifully done, with initial capitals of square or angular type, introducing human and animal forms; no colours are used, but red ink is occasionally employed for decoration. It is, however, to the Irish glosses subsequently added rather than to the text itself that this codex owes its peculiar interest. These are the work of three different hands. Occasionally words are written in Ogham at the top of the page, and sometimes invocations of Saints (generally Patrick or Brigit) and other irrelevant remarks are added in the margins.

The most ancient manuscripts which the Library possesses are bound up in Codex 1394. One of these (pp. 7–49) is the oldest known copy of Virgil extant and has been assigned to the fourth century. It is only a fragment, consisting of eleven parchment folios with portions of Æneid and Georgics. The parchment is very thin and wonderfully white and the writing remarkably clear; capitals are used throughout and the words are joined together without interspaces, with no punctuation and hardly any contractions. Four leaves have been written over later in the twelfth or thirteenth century with religious texts; on one is S. Bernard's well-known hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria.*

The same codex contains seven folios with fragments of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark according to the Old Latin text, written in Roman uncials, probably dating from the sixth century or even earlier. To the same original manuscript belongs a fragment of the fourth Gospel bound up in a manuscript of later date in the Vadian Library at St. Gall. These fragments probably

represent a copy of the Gospels which belonged to the Library from its foundation.[1] Another codex of very early date is No. 870, containing five books of the Scholia on Juvenal, which are known only from this manuscript.

Among the many illuminated works which the Library possesses may be mentioned in the first place Codex 22, the *Psalterium aureum* (Golden Psalter), a copy of the Psalter written in gold letters on white parchment, with seventeen full or half-page illustrations (some in outline only, others fully coloured) of scenes from the life of David. It may have been written in the time of Abbot Hartmuot. On the first page is inscribed an *imprecatio furis*: 'If anyone dare to carry me off as plunder from the precincts of St. Gall, let him doubt not that he runs into danger of God's wrath.' When Duke Karl Eugen of Würtemberg—that same duke who has gained an unenviable notoriety as the early patron of the poet Schiller—visited the Abbey in 1787 and inspected the Library, he asked for the Golden Psalter as a souvenir; which modest request the Abbot thought fit to refuse.

No. 23 is known as Folchart's Psalter, having been executed (as the scribe's own inscription tells us) by Folchart for Abbot Hartmuot. Folchart is not mentioned in the *Casus S. Galli*, but we know from other sources that he held various offices in the Abbey between 855 and 869. The text is Jerome's translation from the Hebrew and his preface is added. The decoration is confined to the initials and a few full-page illuminations in some of which human forms are introduced; the two figures of monks at the head corners of p. 11 may represent Hartmuot and Folchart themselves. Across the top of two of the illuminated pages runs in gold letters a warning to

[1] For a fuller account see Wordsworth and White, *Old Lat. Bibl. Texts*, ii.

would-be thieves something like that we have already come upon in the Golden Psalter.

Codex 53 is the famous *Evangelium Longum* or Long Gospel, so called from its shape. In this we have a rather unusual instance of a book being written for its binding. The cover is formed of two ivory tablets which were among the treasures committed to Abbot Solomon's keeping by Archbishop Hatto on his departure for Italy. They were of remarkable size—indeed, as Ekkehard IV observes, the elephant whose tusks furnished them must have been a giant of his species—and according to tradition they had originally been writing-tablets belonging to the emperor Charlemagne himself, who was accustomed to have them at his bedside by night. At the time when they passed into Solomon's hands, one of them was already carved, and when Solomon resolved to turn them to account for the good of his friend's soul and the glory of his own monastery, he commissioned Tutilo to carve the other and then employed Sintram to write a copy of the Gospels to be bound between them. The tablets (measuring about 32 × 15 centimetres) are each set in a frame of gilt embossed metal work. The front tablet represents Christ in glory, surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, angels and other figures; two smaller panels above and below are filled with arabesques. The back cover is divided into three equal compartments, the top one containing a pattern of vine-tendrils enclosing an animal *motif* which seems certainly copied from the cover of the Gregorian Antiphonary. The centre panel represents the Assumption of the Virgin; below are two scenes side by side taken from the encounter of S. Gall and the bear (Wal. ch. xi): to the left the bear lifts a log at Gall's command, to the right the Saint gives the bear a loaf, while between is the cross with Gall's wallet suspended from it and beneath

the deacon Hiltibod lies in slumber. The figures are executed with much spirit ; the workmanship of both tablets is so similar as to make it seem likely that they were done by the same hand ; probably both were Tutilo's.

The Gospels written for this binding are arranged in lessons. The illumination, which is confined to initials and headlines, is done mainly in gold, silver being introduced in some of the larger letters, and outlined with red, the only pigment employed. The letters are for the most part of Roman form, though occasionally a Celtic B or D occurs ; the decoration consists of arabesques and interlaced patterns, bold rather than intricate, animal forms being rarely introduced. Two initials (the letters L and C on pp. 7 and 11) are said by Ekkehard to have been the work of Solomon himself : if so, he was no whit inferior as an artist to Sintram.

Among the codices which have interest for students of the life of Gall and his contemporaries and the history of his monastery, are No. 553, containing Jonas' Lives of Columbanus, Attala and Bertulfus, and also the Life of Gall by Wettinus ; Nos. 614 and 615, our oldest copies (though copies only) of the *Casus S. Galli* by Ratpert and Ekkehard respectively ; No. 393, Ekkehard's *Liber Benedictionum*, written by his own hand ; No. 556, Ekkehard V's Life of Notker Balbulus. Codex 21 is a copy of the Psalter with the German version made by Notker Labeo ; codices 818, 825 and 872 contain other texts with Notker's translations.

One of the most beautiful codices in the collection is No. 857 and it is also one of the most interesting—at any rate for students of German literature, for it is our source for one of the three texts[1] in which the great epic, the

[1] Lachmann's B-text, the one on which Karl Bartsch's edition is based. In this version the poem is entitled *Der Nibelunge Nôt*

Nibelungenlied, has come down to us and also for one of the two texts of *Parzival*, the masterpiece of Wolfram von Eschenbach. It came to the Library in 1768 among some MSS. which had formerly belonged to the historian Ægidius Tschudi; how it came into his possession is unknown. It was written about the year 1230, no doubt for some knight or nobleman. Besides the *Nibelungenlied* and its sequel the *Klage* and Wolfram's *Parzival*, it also contains two other poems, Wolfram's *Willehalm* and *Karl der Grosse* by the poet known as *der Stricker*. It is beautifully written throughout; several scribes were employed, it would seem, simultaneously, for their handiwork recurs at intervals. The illuminated capitals look like the work of the same hand and are executed with minute and exquisite detail, either in colour on a gold background or in gold filled with colour; in a few cases a human face or half-length form, drawn and coloured with skill, is introduced inside a letter.

But for its full appreciation the work of the mediæval scribes must be seen; no printed page can convey a just idea of its beauty.

I cannot conclude this brief account of the Library of St. Gall without acknowledging my obligations to the present Librarian, Dr. Fäh, who during a visit which I paid to St. Gall in the autumn of 1920, kindly permitted me to examine at my leisure the codices I wished to see and placed at my disposal any books needed for my work.

My numerous debts to preceding writers are acknowledged in the Bibliography. I have drawn largely on the notes to Walahfrid's Life in the Bollandist *Acta* and the *Monumenta Germaniae*.

THE PROLOGUE OF WALAHFRID STRABO TOUCHING THE LIFE OF ST. GALL THE CONFESSOR

WERE it not that I am constrained to obey you, holy fathers, by the authority of the sacred Scriptures and especially by that saying of the truthful prophet wherein obedience is preferred to sacrifice, I should meet your commands with the following excuse: If that prophet who was chosen of the Lord ere yet he was formed in the womb and sanctified ere he was born (Jer. i. 5, 6), nevertheless pleaded ignorance and the infirmity of age when the Lord enlightened him with His spirit and laid upon him the service of proclaiming the word; what shall I do, a transgressor, conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, uncircumcized in heart and ears because of the foulness of my life? I, who can neither fitly apprehend the things I ought to know, nor bear in mind the things I hear? How shall I tell of the manifold righteousness of the Lord or take His testimony on my lips, who am neither ripe in years nor have knowledge to commend me, so that my words are supported neither by learning nor experience? especially since you bid me treat of matters whose passing worth I can but faintly grasp. Nevertheless, there are three considerations which lead me to attempt the task. In the first place, I believe I shall be sustained by the Lord, since it is at His command and relying on His promises that I have undertaken with ready obedience an enterprise I should have shrunk from had I considered my own strength only. In the next place, I trust to be aided by the intercession of St. Gall and by your prayers,

since it is owing to my reverence and love for you that I have laid this heavy burden on my weak shoulders. Finally, I am treading in the footprints of others and all I have to do is to measure with my own paces the path of truth already marked out for me to follow.

Since the Life [1] of our patron St. Gall the Confessor of Christ, over whose precious relics you keep faithful watch, is written in a manner unworthy of the exalted nature of the subject, you desire me to correct and improve the style and to disentangle the confused sequence of the narrative by arranging it in chapters; and as I have no sufficient excuse for declining this task, I will rather incur censure by my incapacity than be condemned for my disobedience.

Some time ago when reading the work I have spoken of, I observed that the country which we Alemannians or Sueves inhabit is frequently called Altimania by the author; and on looking for the source of this name, I did not find it mentioned in any of the writers with whom I have hitherto been able to form acquaintance. If I mistake not, it is a modern invention suggested by the elevated situation of the province. For according to writers of warrant, that part of Alemannia or Suevia [2] which lies between the Pennine Alps and the southern bank of the Danube is called Rhaetia, what extends beyond it on the northern bank of the Danube being counted as

[1] No doubt the *Vita Vetustissima*; the name Altimania does not occur in the fragment now extant but probably did in the original work.

[2] Suevia (used by Wal. as equivalent to Alemannia to denote a territory occupying mod. Switzerland and part of South Germany) has left its name in *Schwaben*. Under Rhaetia Wal. includes the ancient province of Vindelicia lying between Lake Constance and the Danube. Brigantium=Bregenz situated on L. Constance (Bodensee, called in ancient times *lacus Brigantinus*, also *l. Potamicus*, Gk. *potamos*=river). Arar=Aar, trib. of the Rhine. The Baivarii gave their name to mod. Bavaria.

part of Germany. Lest it should be thought that I am stating an opinion of my own, I will cite some witnesses on the point. Paul Orosius, [1] whose statements all agree in crediting, writing on the situation of the country, speaks as follows : ' Pannonia, Noricum and Rhaetia are bordered on the east by Moesia, on the south by Istria, on the south-west by the Pennine Alps, on the west by Belgic Gaul, on the north-west by the source of the Danube, and on the north by the Danube and Germany.' Now since Noricum is the territory of the Baivarii and the Danube and Germany form its northern limit, it follows that Rhaetia, which lies beside it, must have the same boundaries on the north. Solinus also, in the *Polyhistor*, [2] in speaking of Gaul implies in the following words that these provinces lie in the same region : ' From Gaul as centre you can go in whatsoever direction you please : if you are bound for Thrace, you will enter first the Rhaetian territory, which is good for crops and renowned for the Brigantine lake ; then Noricum, which is cold and of meagre fertility, though very flourishing in the parts which slope away from the ridges of the Alps ; and then Pannonia, strong in inhabitants, with a level and fertile soil, enclosed by the famous rivers Drave and Save.' If Rhaetia is wholly below the Alps, as many assert, what reason is there for us, when going from Gaul to Noricum, to cross the rugged

[1] Paulus Orosius, a writer of the 4th–5th cent. ; the quotations following are from the *Hist. adversum Paganos*, bk. i, ch. 2.

[2] Caius Julius Solinus, a grammarian of the third century whose *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (generally known as the *Polyhistor*) was regarded as an authority in the Middle Ages. The quotations which follow are from ch. 22 and 21 respectively (ed. Mommsen, pp. 100 and 99), but the text used by Wal. is undoubtedly corrupt. In the latter passage describing Ireland, Sol. adds the ' shocking account ' that the inhabitants are warlike and inhospitable, that it is their custom to smear their faces with the blood of their fallen enemies and that they make no distinction between right and wrong (*fas ac nefas eodem loco ducunt*).

Alpine heights instead of proceeding directly to Noricum through greater Rhaetia? It is in Rhaetia also, according to the statement above quoted, that the town of Brigantium is situated, now fallen into decay through age, which gives its name to the lake formed by the Rhine, known also by another name of Greek origin as Lake Potamicus. Since then the Sueves, commingling with the Alemannians, occupy part of Germany beyond the Danube, part of Rhaetia between the Alps and the Danube, and that part of Gaul which lies around the river Arar, let us stick to the old names as being more accurate and call the country after its inhabitants Alemannia or Suevia. For as there are two names to denote the one people, the surrounding nations who use the Latin tongue call us by the former (to wit, Alemannians), while the latter is given us by those who have the German idiom.[1] In like manner, as we know, the Franks have not only brought certain parts of Germany or Gaul under their sway, but have imposed on them their own name as well.

Since I have entered on the description of these provinces, let me also, following the same authorities, say a few words anent the situation of the island of Hibernia, from which so great a glory hath shone upon us. 'The island of Hibernia,' says Orosius, 'lies between Britain and Spain and stretches a greater distance northward than Britain. It is nearer to Britain and of more limited area, but on account of its temperate climate and the nature of its soil more productive.' According to Solinus 'it is so rich in pasture that unless the cattle were sometimes in summer shut out from their pastures, they would be in danger from over-feeding.

[1] *Sequenti nos nuncupat usus barbarorum.* Wal., following the classical usage, employs the term *barbari* to denote any people unacquainted with Latin and speaking a vernacular dialect.

There are no snakes and few birds.' As for the shocking accounts which Solinus and others give of the manners of the inhabitants, now that the faith of Christ hath shone upon them, these may be regarded as obsolete; for where sin abounded, grace doth more exceedingly abound, and from the rising of the sun—in India or Ethiopia—unto its setting—among the Britons and Scots[1]—the name of the Lord is now praised (Ps. cxiii. 3). For the Lord is exalted above all the peoples and His glory above the heavens.

I beseech thee therefore, beloved Gozbert, abbot of the monastery of St. Gall, and all the brethren who wage spiritual warfare under thy command, to assist me with your prayers, that I may be enabled to execute this work, and other works hereafter in a manner pleasing unto God. For if I be encouraged by your approval when I set down aught aright, and corrected with indulgence when I stumble, I will, if the Lord permit, hereafter season with some relish of verse the rustic fare I now offer. It is indeed fitting that he whom the Lord chose from the farthest ends of earth to bring us salvation, should be made known throughout the world by our praises. May the Holy Trinity vouchsafe to preserve your Fatherhood ever in health and to keep me in your memory.

O Father, O Son of the Father, O life-giving Spirit, God One and Three, rule us with compassion.

I am bound by Thy commands and directed by Thy promises; may Thy light, I beseech Thee, shine forth in all I say.

In thee, O Gall, I will confess God, even as in the Lord I acknowledge thee, O Gall; pour forth thy holy prayers unto the Lord on my behalf, that He may pardon

[1] At this period and for some centuries later the terms *Scoti* (or *Scotti*) and *Scotigenae* were used of the Irish.

my faults and control my utterance, expunge whatsoe'er offends and enlarge whatsoe'er is profitable.

I

How St. Gall from his boyhood made progress under the teaching of St. Columbanus and at last attained the rank of priesthood.

In the days when the holy Columbanus, who is also called Columba, was famed throughout all Ireland for the sanctity of his life and, like a bright ray of the fiery sun, called forth the love of all men by his signal grace, even as had been foretold of him before his birth (as the book of his deeds [1] sets forth in full) : among those who were drawn by the report of his virtues were the parents of the blessed Gall, persons devout in the sight of God and honourable in the sight of men. They, offering their son in the flower of early youth as a sacrifice unto the Lord, entrusted him to the teaching of Columbanus that he might be trained in the religious life and might follow examples of obedience and singleness of purpose in the midst of others engaged in spiritual warfare. Being a youth of great promise, he was nurtured by Columbanus with tender affection and grew apace in virtues. Guided by the divine grace, he drank in the holy scriptures with such eagerness that he was able from his stores to produce things new and old ; and he also mastered the rules of grammar and the intricacies of prosody with able intellect. With such wisdom did he open the obscure passages of Scripture to those who wished to learn, that he won the admiration and praise of all who heard him speak. Being thus ripe in wisdom, by the advice of all and the command of the abbot

[1] The Life of Columbanus by Jonas.

Columbanus,[1] after passing through the several degrees of divine orders, he at last received the rank of priesthood, though against his will. While engaged in the duties of his sacred calling he sought day and night to propitiate the Lord with prayers and tears ; and while seeking only to be found pleasing in the eyes of Him Who seeth above, he gained the love and favour of his fellowmen by his gifts and virtuous life.

II

How the holy men set out on a pilgrimage in the name of the Lord, and how they came to king Sigebert and took up their abode at Luxovium.

Meantime St. Columbanus, earnestly desiring to attain that perfection spoken of in the Gospel—namely, to leave all he had, take up his cross and follow the Lord, stript of all possessions[2] —succeeded in persuading those of his brethren whose souls were inflamed with a like fervour, to make good their zeal by action, by renouncing the sweets of kindred and home.

Taking ship therefore, they came to Britain[3] and thence crossed the channel to Gaul. When the man of God and his followers reached king Sigebert,[4] the king

[1] Col. was not yet an Abbot, but very likely acted as a *praepositus* or prior under St. Comgall of Bangor, whose community was so large that it was divided into several monasteries. In Burgundy Col. appointed priors, Jon. i. 10.

[2] This seems to have been the motive which led most of the Irish monks to leave their country, rather than any definite missionary purpose. Similarly John Wesley, when sailing for America as a young man with his brother, says : ' Our end in leaving our native country was not to avoid want . . . nor to gain the dung or dross of riches or honour ; but singly this—to save our souls ; to live wholly to the glory of God.' (Journal, 1735).

[3] A mistake, into which Wal. was led by the *Britannicos sinus* of Jon. and Wett., used by them of Brittany, not Britain.

[4] Here Wal. follows Jon. and Wett. in error ; Sigebert was king of Austrasia and died in 575 and his brother Gunthram was at this time king of Burgundy, in which Luxeuil is situated. For some

begged him to settle in Gaul and not leave it to go to other nations, promising that he would provide all that the holy father required. To this request the man of God replied: 'We who have left our homes to follow the Lord, as it is commanded in the Gospel, may not cleave to external riches, lest haply we be found transgressors of the divine behest.' The king in answer to his objection said: 'If thou desire to take up thy cross and follow Christ, seek the tranquillity of some wide wilderness;[1] only leave not the land beneath my rule to go to neighbouring peoples; thus thou canst both heap up reward for thyself and provide for our salvation.' Columbanus yielded to the persuasions of the king, and being given his choice of a retreat, repaired with his disciples to the wilderness called Vosegus.[2] There they found a place, commonly called Luxovium, where there were hot springs and which, though now in ruins, had in olden times been enclosed by walls. Here they built a small church[3] in honour of St. Peter the Apostle as well as huts to dwell in, and pursued their religious calling, at the same time cultivating the soil; and many not only of the Burgundians but also of the Franks, won by the merit of their lives, flocked hither to them and by their spiritual teachings were moved to such effectual repentance that some of them brought all their belongings

time before G's death in 592 his nephew Childebert (or Hildebert) II. of Austrasia, son of Sigebert, was associated with him in the rule of Burgundy.

[1] *Heremus*, a term applicable to a stretch of rugged and uninhabited country, overgrown with forest and frequented by wolves and bears, such as at this period covered much of Europe.

[2] The name survives in the Vosges mountains. Luxovium= Luxeuil, dep. Haute-Saône. Wal. does not mention the prior settlement at Annegray nor the subsequent one at Fontaines.

[3] *Oratorium*, one of the diminutive churches built by the early Irish monks. Wal. uses this term throughout his first book in speaking of St. Gall's Church; in the second book, speaking of the monastery church, he prefers *ecclesia* or *basilica*.

to the place and having shorn their locks, took on them the monastic habit and embraced voluntary poverty.

III

How St. Columbanus reproved king Theodoric with authority and was hated and driven from the kingdom by Brunehild ; and how he went with his disciples to king Lothair and thence to Theodebert.

While they abode thus, making such happy progress in the religious life, the great holiness of Columbanus, being approved by many miracles, came at last to be famed throughout the whole of Gaul and even the provinces of Germany. He was praised and reverenced by all, nay, the king himself, Theodoric [1] son of Hildebert and grandson of Sigebert, who was then reigning in Burgundy, used often to visit him and implore the aid of his prayers most devoutly. And when the holy father reproved him because he defiled himself with concubines instead of wedding a lawful spouse, the king yielded to his admonitions and promised to forsake all illicit connections. But when the king's grandmother Brunehild, saw him thus obeying the counsels of the man of God, she was stirred up to enmity and armed her mind with fury as with a serpent's poison ; for she feared that, if the king discarded his concubines and chose a queen to be his consort in the realm, her own position would lose its honour and be held cheap.

[1] On the death of Childebert II in 595, his dominions were divided between his two young sons, Theodebert, who received Austrasia, and Theodoric or Thierry (=Germ. Dietrich) to whom fell Burgundy. Brunehild, widow of Sigebert of Austrasia, lived with her grandson Thierry and practically ruled for him. The pictures drawn of her by Jon. and Wal. must be accepted with some reserve ; she was an able and in some respects an enlightened woman. Neither Jon. nor Wett. mention her letter.

Oppressed by this fear, she began to cherish enmity against the man of God and after contriving many means to injure him (as the narrative of his holy life attests),[1] she entered into a plot with the king to banish him ; and she sent her agents with a letter to him, forbidding him to remain longer in the kingdom. To escape the machinations of this second Jezebel, Columbanus journeyed with his followers to king Lothair [2] and after tarrying some time at his court, asked his aid that he might repair to Theodebert, king of Austrasia. In compliance with his request he was sent with every mark of respect to Theodebert, who received him with all honour and great joy, and with Theodebert he remained for some days, opening to him the sacred Scriptures and guiding him into the truth. When at last he asked Theodebert to grant him a conduct through Alemannia to Agilolf, king of the Lombards, the king, loth to part with men of such worth, promised to find for them within his own dominions some pleasing spot suitable for a habitation for servants of God and conveniently situated for instructing the surrounding peoples in the word of God. Wishing to sow the seed of the word in the hearts of the nations, the man of God agreed to stay a while if the king would carry out his promise.

IV

How, being given their choice of a place to dwell in, they came to Tucconia, and what they did there.

The king gave them leave to choose whatever spot they liked ; and after traversing many places they came at last, within the territory of Alemannia, to the river

[1] See Jon. i. 19.

[2] Lothair or Clothair, king of Neustria, was son of Chilperic, another brother of Sigebert and Gunthram. Wal. deals in summary fashion with the journey of Col. ; see introduction.

called Lindimacus.[1] Following its course towards higher levels, they reached Lake Turicinus, along the shore of which they proceeded till they came to a place called Tucconia at the head of the lake, which appeared to them well fitted for a settlement. The inhabitants, however, were cruel and irreligious, given to image-worship and sacrifices in honour of idols, and practising augury and divination and many other superstitious customs contrary to the worship of God. When the holy brethren had taken up their abode among them, they began to teach them to worship the Father, Son and Holy Spirit and to keep the faith in its true form; and Gall, the disciple of St. Columbanus, armed with pious zeal, set fire to the temples in which they used to sacrifice to demons and threw all the offerings he found into the lake. Moved to wrath and hostility by this conduct, the people began to persecute the brethren and formed a plan to kill Gall and to banish Columbanus from their borders after scourging him and heaping insults on him. But the blessed father discovered their plot and filled with righteous indignation, he pronounced a curse upon them, saying: 'O God, by whose providence the world subsists and all things are governed, cause the wrongs which this people hath contrived against Thy servants to redound on their own heads. May their children fall an easy prey to death and be driven to sudden frenzy ere they grow old; and may they themselves and the land they inhabit be oppressed by the power of tyrants, so that their disgrace may be manifest to all men and for all time, even as it is written: Let their travail come upon their own head

[1] The Limmat, a trib. of the Rhine, flowing through the lake of Zürich (*l. Turicinus*). Tucconia = Tuggen on L. Zürich. Neither the settlement at Tuggen nor that at Arbon are mentioned by Jon.

and their wickedness fall on their own pate' (Ps. viii. 17).[1]

V

How they came unto Willimar, the priest at Arbon and how he received them with kindness and told them of Brigantium.

Thereupon, impelled not by fear of persecution but by desire of spiritual increase, he quitted that stiffnecked and thankless crew, lest in seeking to fertilize their parched and sterile hearts he should waste labour that might be of much profit to well-disposed minds. Setting out therefore with his disciples, he reached the town[2] called Arbona where he found a priest named Willimar, a man remarkable for his goodness. When Willimar looked on Columbanus, he said: 'Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord' (Ps. cxviii. 26), to which the man of God replied, 'The Lord hath gathered us out of the lands' (Ps. cvii. 3). Then the priest took him by the right hand and led him into the oratory, and after they had prayed together he brought them to his lodging. There they laid down their baggage, praying that peace might dwell in that house. After they had rested, Gall, at the abbot's bidding, began to discourse on divine themes

[1] The citation here, as elsewhere throughout the work, is from the Vulgate. Neither Gall's act nor the curse pronounced by Col. will commend themselves to modern judgments. It must however be remembered that Gall and his contemporary fellow-Christians conceived of heathen gods not as figments but as actual devils, with whom no compromise was lawful; moreover it seems likely that the Suevi were at this time nominally Christians (see ch. vii.) and therefore to be regarded as renegades. In the version of the curse given by Wett. the clause *ut ignominiam suam agnoscant conversi* 'that they may be converted and recognize their infamy' lends it a more charitable complexion.

[2] *Castrum* = a town which was not the seat of a bishop; one which had a bishop being called *oppidum*, the term always used by Wal. of Constance. Arbon (*Arbona*), anciently Arbor Felix, is on the south shore of L. Constance and not far from St. Gall.

and to unfold the mysteries of the truth, and while they were thus feasting on holy and health-giving doctrine, the priest marvelled at Gall's wisdom and could not refrain from shedding tears. For the space of a week he ministered to their needs with the utmost respect and assiduity, and while supplying them with the good things of the body, he was in return daily feasted by them on the scriptures. In the midst of their edifying discourse on sacred things, the abbot Columbanus asked the priest if he knew of any spot in some uninhabited district wherein to build a cloister [1] for following the monastic life. To this the host replied: 'In the wilderness hard by is a place where are yet to be seen ruins of ancient buildings; the soil is rich and well-suited for crops; there are lofty mountains around, and adjoining the town is a wide and level expanse of waste land which will not deny to such as seek a living the fruits of their toil.' After adding much more in praise of the place, he told them it was called Brigantium.[2]

VI

How they went thither; how St. Gall acted in the assembly of the people; how they restored the house of prayer; how long they remained there.

As they were eager to go thither, the priest got ready a small vessel and manned it with rowers; and the venerable abbot, taking with him Gall and a deacon, embarked after calling on the name of the Lord, and steered a straight course for the spot. On landing, they made their way to an oratory which had been dedicated

[1] *Cellula* (the term employed here) and *cella* are commonly used in mediæval Latin of a monastery or cenobitic settlement like that of Col. or the later one of Gall. Wal. reserves the word *monasterium* for the time when St. Gall had become a regular Benedictine monastery.

[2] =Pergentia (Wett.), Brigantiae (Jon.), mod. Bregenz.

to St. Aurelia and was hereafter restored by St. Columbanus to its pristine honour. After engaging in prayer, they surveyed their surroundings and were well pleased with the situation and aspect of the place. In the oratory they found three[1] images of gilt bronze affixed to the wall; for the people had forsaken the sacred rites of God's altar and used to worship these images instead, saying, as they offered their sacrifices, 'These are the old gods, the former guardians of this place, and it is by their aid that we and ours have been kept alive to this day.' Columbanus laid on Gall the duty of preaching to the people and calling them back from the errors of idolatry to the worship of God; for Gall had received this favour from the Lord, that he had no small knowledge of the native idiom[2] as well as of Latin. It was just then the time for holding a festival in the temple, and a large crowd of men and women of all ages assembled, desiring not only to celebrate the festival but to see the strangers of whose arrival they had heard. When therefore all were gathered together at the hour of prayer, Gall, in obedience to his abbot's command, began to show unto the people the way of truth and to exhort them to turn to the Lord, to cast aside vain superstitions and worship God the Father, the Creator of all things, and His only begotten Son in whom is salvation, life and the resurrection of the dead. And laying hold of the images in the sight of all, he broke them to pieces with stones and threw them into the lake. When the people saw this, some of them were converted and confessed their sins, giving glory to God for having enlightened them; others were moved to wrath by the breaking of the images and departed,

[1] So Wett.; two according to the metrical Life.
[2] *Barbaricæ locutionis*—See note p. 61.

swelling with rage and resentment. But St. Columbanus bade water be brought and having blessed it, he sprinkled the fane and dedicated it anew as a Church, the monks meantime going round it in procession and chanting psalms. Then, after calling on the name of the Lord, he anointed the altar, placed within it the relics of St. Aurelia [1] and laid upon it an altar-cloth, after which he celebrated Mass in due order. When all these holy rites had been performed, the people returned to their homes rejoicing. St. Columbanus and his fellow-soldiers stayed in this place for three years [2] and built a small cloister there, where some of them laid out a garden and others cultivated fruit trees. St. Gall used to weave nets and by the mercy of God he caught such quantities of fish that the brethren were never in any want; nay, he was able to provide for any strangers who chanced to come and bestowed many a blessing on the people by his toil.

VII

How Gall heard the dread voices of demons and how they were silenced.

Once upon a time in the silence of the night, as Gall was casting his nets into the lake, he heard a demon calling with loud voice from the summit of the nearest mountain to some fellow of his who seemed to inhabit the water. He who was thus called answered (as it were out of the lake) that he was there. 'Rise and come to my aid,' said the other, 'that we may cast out these strangers who have come from afar; for they have driven me from my temple and shattered my images

[1] S. Aurelia of Argentoratum (Strasburg). Doubtless the relics were in the Church already.

[2] Really only two (610–612), but older chroniclers often count part of a year as a whole one.

and drawn away after themselves the people who used to follow me. Be not indifferent to my wrongs, but let us with united strength drive our common enemies from our borders.' 'Alas,' replied the second demon, 'what thou tellest me of thy wrongs I know from my own experience. For one of them holds me in subjection in the lake and lays waste my domains, and I can neither damage his nets nor foil him, for the divine Name is ever on his lips and by its protection and his ceaseless vigilance he sets my snares at nought. No cunning of ours will get the better of such wary combatants.' On hearing these words, the man of God secured himself on every side with the sign of the holy cross, and said to them: 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ I adjure you to depart from this place, nor dare to injure anyone here.' Then he made for the shore with speed and went to tell his abbot what he had heard. When Columbanus heard it, he went to the church and striking the bell, [1] summoned the brethren together. But ere they had finished chanting the psalms, they heard the awful voices of the demons passing from crest to crest of the mountains, in mingled tones of despair and fear as though they were taking their departure. Then the servants of God prostrated themselves in prayer, beseeching the Lord to protect them and offering Him praise and thanks because He had vouchsafed to deliver them from the terrors of the fiends.

VIII

How the inhabitants devised evil against the holy men and how at their leader's counsel they resolved to depart.

Meantime some of the townsmen, chafing at the overthrow of their idols and spurning the teaching of the

Signo pulsato—perhaps an allusion to the old Irish ecclesiastical bell, which had no clapper and was struck like a gong.

monks, began to stir up hatred and frame plots against them. To this end, they went to the duke of those parts, Gunzo [1] by name, and laid charges against the holy men before him, saying that the public hunting in the district had been hindered by the interference of the strangers. [2] When the duke heard this he was inflamed with wrath and sent messengers to order the servants of God to quit the neighbourhood. Even this, however, was not enough for the devil-worshippers, for they stole a cow belonging to the monks and drove it into the pathless recesses of the forest. Two of the brethren followed their track and came up with them; but the robbers rose and slew them and made off with their spoils. The monks, wondering why these two so long delayed their return, sent others to seek them, who, following their footsteps, found them slain. They laid the bodies on their shoulders and carried them back to the cloister. While they were thus overwhelmed with a tide of troubles, the messengers of the duke arrived and ordered them to depart; nor was this unnatural, seeing there is no fellowship between light and darkness. Thus by his craft the devil brought to pass that the people who were slipping from his power in presence of the light, were replunged in their former darkness by the withdrawal of its rays. So the holy men, grieving sore that they were driven from their pleasant abode, determined with one accord to set out for Italy; and while they were weighed down with sorrow, the holy father Columbanus began to comfort them, saying: 'We have indeed, my brothers, found here a golden shell, but one that harboured venomous reptiles.

[1] Of Gunzo and his daughter Fridiburga nothing is known save from the biographies of St. Gall.

[2] i.e., they had scared away the game.

Nevertheless, dispel the sadness which enfeebles you, for our trust is sure in the aid of our Defender. The God whom we serve will send His angel with us to lead us to Agilolf king of the Lombards, and in his realm, if he bestow his favour on us, we shall meet with kindly feelings and find a peaceful spot for our habitation.'

IX

How Gall on account of sickness remained behind when his companions left, and how the priest Willimar took him in and tended him with zealous care.

When the time for their departure was at hand, St. Gall was seized with a sudden fever; wherefore, throwing himself at the abbot's feet, he told him that he was suffering from severe illness and was unable for the journey before them. But Columbanus, thinking that Gall was held back by love of a spot endeared to him by many labours and was shirking the fatigue of a long journey, said to him: 'I know, brother, that now it seems to thee a heavy burden to endure toil and weariness for my sake. Nevertheless, this I enjoin on thee ere I depart, that so long as I am alive in the body, thou shalt never take upon thee to celebrate Mass.'

After his master and his comrades had gone, Gall placed his nets, big and little, in a boat and went to Willimar the priest; to him he offered the nets and told him with sighs and tears all that had befallen the monks; then he disclosed the causes of his own malady and begged Willimar to take him under his care. Willimar received him with every kindly attention, assigning him a dwelling close to the church and charging two of his clerics, Magnoald and Theodore,[1] to tend him and do

[1] Some time after the death of St. Gall Magnoald and Theodore set out for Bavaria, where Magnoald founded the monastery of

their utmost for his recovery. After some days had elapsed, the Lord, Who is the true Physician, vouchsafed a cure; Gall began to take food and grew stronger day by day till he regained his full health. Surely that was a weakness passing all human strength! a fever for which we should be devoutly thankful! an illness to be counted rather as health and cause of rejoicing! For like his Lord, Gall suffered for us that he might banish the diseases of our souls by his holy preaching; he was unable to go with his master that he might show us the way of truth. Verily the Lord is long-suffering and merciful, for though so long despised in the persons of His preachers, He waits patiently for the conversion of the sinners and holds back a teacher for them lest they should be abandoned to their errors.

X

How the man of God, desiring a solitary place for habitation, was told of such by the deacon Hiltibod.

Now the deacon of the priest Willimar, whose name was Hiltibod, was well acquainted with every nook and cranny of the wilderness, for he was accustomed to roam through it in order to catch fish and snare hawks, and by daily habit had come to know its inmost recesses. The holy man, who had by this time admitted the deacon to his intimacy, asked him if he had ever found in the wilderness any spot abounding in pure and wholesome water, level and adapted for tillage; 'for I am filled with a burning desire,' said he, 'to pass the days allotted to me on this earth in some retreat, according to that

Füssen, Theodore that of Kempten. Magnoald, or Magnus as he is generally called, was subsequently canonized. In the *Vita S. Magni* by the pseudo-Theodore (Boll. Acta SS. September 6) he is said to have been of Irish extraction; but it is a document on which little reliance can be placed.

which the psalmist saith: "Lo, I have gotten me away far off and remained in the wilderness. I waited for Him to deliver me"' (Ps. lv. 7). The deacon replied: 'This wilderness, my father, has many waters flowing through it, but it is a wild and fearsome place, full of high mountains with narrow winding glens and haunted by savage beasts; for besides stags and such harmless animals it breeds bears and boars and wolves beyond number and exceeding fierce; were I to lead thee thither, I fear they would devour thee.' 'The apostle,' rejoined the holy man, 'hath said: "If God be for us, who can be against us?" (Rom. viii. 31, 28) and again: "We know that all things work together for good to them that love God." He who delivered Daniel from the den of lions can save me also from the clutches of wild beasts.' Whereupon the deacon answered: 'Put some food into thy wallet and the smallest of thy fishing-nets, and to-morrow I will lead thee into the wilderness; and if thou find in it a spot that suits thee, give thanks unto God and fulfil the divine command in all its strictness. For God who hath brought thee from a far country, will Himself send His angel with us, even as He gave a companion from heaven to His servant Tobias, and will show us some spot suited to our pious desires.' The saint accordingly remained fasting for that day and spent the night in prayer until the dawn. For it was fitting that he should by fervent prayer commend to the Lord the enterprise to which he was impelled by divine love.

XI

How he entered the wilderness with the deacon and chose a spot according to his desire; and how the bear obeyed him.

When at last Lucifer in his ascent had laid bare the hidden tracts of darkness and the sun, leaving the

nether world, returned in his wonted course to visit the upper regions of the earth and displayed to mortals his fiery beams in the eastern quarter of the heavens; the athlete of God, taking with him the things his guide had told him, set out on his way after offering prayer, the deacon going before him. They pursued their journey throughout the day, till about the ninth hour[1] the deacon said: 'Father, it is now time to break our fast; let us refresh ourselves with a little bread and water that we may be better able for the rest of our way.' 'Do thou, my son,' replied the man of God, 'take what food thy body needs; I will taste nothing till the Lord shows me the abiding place I seek.' 'If we be partners in suffering,' said the other, 'we shall be partners likewise in consolation.' After these words they hastened on their way, for the day was already declining and the sun was near its setting. They came to the stream called Steinaha[2] and followed its course till they reached the cliff from which it descends with violence, forming a fine pool below.[3] Here they saw a quantity of fish and they threw their nets into the water and caught some. Then they kindled a fire and the deacon boiled the fish and laid out the bread on the top of the wallet. St. Gall meantime retired a short distance to pray, and as he was walking through the tangled thorn-brake, his foot caught and he fell to earth. The deacon ran to lift him up; but the man of God, filled with the spirit of prophecy, said: 'Suffer me to be; this shall be my rest for ever;

[1] About 3 p. m., the usual hour of refection in Irish monasteries.

[2] *Petrosa*, Wett.; the Steinach, a small river flowing through St. Gall to Lake Constance.

[3] *Gurgitem speciosum*. 'Where its bed is hollowed out in the rock' Wett. Immediately south of the monastery the Steinach descends through a rocky gorge from the hill, its waters forming a basin at the point spoken of.

here will I dwell, for I have chosen it' (Ps. cxxxii. 15). And after praying, he rose to his feet, and taking a hazel-twig he formed it into a cross and fixed it in the ground. He had hanging round his neck a satchel[1] which contained relics of the blessed Mary the mother of God and the holy martyrs Maurice and Desiderius. He suspended this satchel from the cross and called the deacon; both prostrated themselves in prayer and the Saint uttered the following petition: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, who for the salvation of mankind didst vouchsafe to be borne of a virgin and to suffer death, spurn not my desire because of my transgressions, but for the honour of Thy holy mother and Thy martyrs and confessors prepare in this place a habitation meet for Thy service.' When he had ended his prayer, as the sun was now setting and the day near its close, they partook at last of food, giving thanks to God before and after meat, and then strewed couches for themselves on the ground to rest awhile. But as soon as the Saint deemed his companion sound asleep, he arose and prostrating himself (with outstretched arms) in the form of a cross[2] before the satchel, poured forth fervent prayers to the Lord. While he was thus engaged, a bear came down from the mountains and began stealthily to pick up the crumbs and broken morsels which they had let fall during their repast. When the man of God saw this, he said to the beast: 'In the name of the Lord, I command

[1] *Capsellam*; probably one of the leather cases for carrying books often mentioned in Irish hagiography under the name *tiag* (≺Gk. thēkē). St. Maurice was the leader of the Theban Legion; St. Desiderius (or Didier) of Vienne was in after time specially honoured in the monastery of St. Gall. It is perhaps worth noticing that the hazel was regarded in old times, both in Ireland and Germany, as a tree of special virtue, efficacious against evil spells.

[2] The *crossfigell* (*crucis vigilia*), a common devotional practice among Irish monks.

thee to take up a log and throw it on the fire.' The monster turned at his bidding and brought a stout log and threw it into the fire. Thereupon the kind-hearted saint went to his wallet and drawing forth a loaf yet untouched from his scanty store, gave it to his servitor, saying: 'In the name of my Lord Jesus Christ, depart from this valley; thou art free to range the hills and mountains around at will so long as thou doest no harm to man or beast in this spot.' The deacon meantime, feigning sleep, had watched how the beloved of God dealt with the beast; at last he rose and threw himself at the Saint's feet, saying: 'Now I know of a truth that the Lord is with thee, since even the beasts of the wilderness obey thee.' But the Saint answered him: 'Take heed that thou tell no man of this till thou see the glory of God.'[1]

XII

How the holy father drove from that place demons who appeared in the guise of women.

When the night was spent and the golden light of day illumined the forest shades, the deacon said: 'My father, what are we to do to-day?' 'Prithee, my son,' replied Gall, 'take not amiss what I say: since the Lord hath caused us to find what we sought, let us pass this day also in this place. Take thy net and go to the pool, and I will follow thee as soon as I can. It may be the Lord will show us His accustomed bounty, so that on our return to the town we may have to offer the priest our father some gift which the Lord has granted us to

[1] In traditional art St. Gall is always associated with the bear, which is generally represented standing on its hind-legs and carrying a log; it may be seen in the old seal of the Abbey and among the sculptures over the Karlstor, the gate to the south of the town.

find.' 'I am well content with thy bidding,' answered the deacon, and rose without delay, calling on the name of the Lord; then taking the little fishing net, he went to the river. As he was about to throw it into the water, two fiends in the shape of women appeared standing on the bank, naked as though they were going to take a bath; and after flaunting their indecency in his face, they took up stones and began to pelt him, saying: ''Tis thou hast led yon man into the wilderness—one full of iniquity and malice, who hath ever foiled us by his evil practices.' The deacon returned to the man of God and told him what he had seen and heard. Then that chosen warrior of God threw himself on his knees (as did also the deacon) and besought the Lord, saying: 'O Almighty God, whose goodness is past telling and whose majesty is beyond all measure; not according to my merits but according to Thy mercy, hearken with favour unto my prayer and bid these fiends quit this spot that it may be consecrated to Thy glory.' Then rising they approached the pool and forthwith the fiends turned and fled along the course of the stream to the neighbouring mountain and St. Gall said to them: 'By the boundless might of the Trinity I charge you, ye phantasms, to leave this spot and withdraw to the uninhabited mountains, and never henceforth dare return hither.' After this they let down their net into the pool and caught as much fish as they wanted. As they were disentangling the fishes from the meshes of the net, they heard from the mountain-top voices like the voices of two women bewailing the dead, saying one to another: 'Alas! what shall we do? whither shall we go? This stranger will not suffer us to dwell among men nor even to abide in the wilderness.' Nor was that the only time such voices were heard; but on three several occasions afterwards, when the deacon had entered the valley to

catch hawks, he heard the demons shouting from a mountain which is called Himilinberg,[1] asking one another whether Gall was yet in the wilderness or had gone away.

XIII

How the spot was chosen and the serpents departed from it.

After the departure of the fiends, these two faithful lovers of the wilderness continued their way through the valley and espied at last between two streams[2] a spot which they judged well fitted for a settlement, for it offered much that they desired, a fine wood and mountains around enclosing a small plain. Then the Saint, recalling the words of Jacob after he had beheld the vision of the ladder and the angels ascending and descending thereon, said, 'Truly the Lord is in this place!' (Gen. xxviii. 16). Up to that time there had been a great many serpents in that valley, but from that day forth they vanished so completely that not one was ever after seen there.[3] This miracle was of a piece with those that went before; for when the devil had been driven from the spot, it was meet that the creature by whose means he had deceived mankind should likewise withdraw and make way for the habitation of holiness.

XIV

How he dedicated it with a fast; and how on his return to the town he heard of the bishop's death.

On their return to their first halting-place, where the man of God had planted the little cross, the deacon said to him: 'Let us take the wallet and net and go back to

[1] According to the Boll. Editor, Mönzeln (=*Mons Coelius*), a hill near St. Gall.

[2] The Steinach and the Irr, which meet at St. Gall.

[3] Likewise St. Patrick banished snakes from Ireland; and in the Life of St. Magnus we are told that he killed a huge snake at Campodunum (Kempten) with the staff of St. Gal and freed the spot from such reptiles ever after.

the town.' 'Do thou, my son,' answered Gall, 'return home at thy pleasure; I will tarry here a while and follow thee in three days' time.' Said the deacon: 'I will by no means go back to our father without thee, lest perchance he say I have killed thee for the sake of thy spoils; or, if I deny the charge, he may reproach me: "Why then hast thou left him in the wilderness? Return with speed and bring him to me"; and so shall I have double toil and be put to open shame.' Whereto the saint replied, 'Go, my son, and I will follow in thy steps as soon as may be.' When the deacon had gone, the athlete of God remained for three days fasting from all bodily sustenance, that so by his abstinence he might consecrate the spot which he designed for the warfare of the spirit. On the fourth day he left the wilderness and returned to the house of the priest, on whom he bestowed a cordial salutation, withal rendering due thanks and praise to God for all the goodness shown unto him. The priest received him joyfully and bade the table be set, and they sat down to meat after blessing and giving thanks to God. In the course of the meal the deacon said to the priest: 'If the bear were here, 'tis likely Gall would have given him something to eat;'[1] and on the priest's inquiring the meaning of his words, he related all that had happened in the wilderness. From that day they looked upon Gall as a prophet and a saint, daily measuring his deserts by the austerity of his life and his zeal in goodness.

While thus they dwelt together a messenger came to the priest to say that Gaudentius,[2] the bishop of

[1] *Benedictionem*; *benedictio*, like *eulogium*, frequently = a gift (especially of food).

[2] According to the Boll. Editor of the Life of St. Magnus the death of Bishop Gaudentius is given in the Annals of Cointius *sub anno* 614.

Constance, had departed this life. On hearing the news they began with one accord to offer fervent prayers and tears for his repose.

XV

How he was summoned to the duke along with the priest and being unwilling to go, journeyed through Rhaetia and was entertained by the deacon Johannes.

On the seventh day following there came a missive from duke Gunzo to the priest, bidding him come in twelve days' time to the town of Iburningae[1] and bring the man of God with him. For his only daughter, who was named Fridiburga, a girl of remarkable beauty, was possessed by an evil spirit which tormented her in divers manners, so that she remained almost wholly without food and would often roll on the ground, foaming at the mouth and in such dire frenzy that four men could scarce hold her with all their efforts. When a month had elapsed from the time this malady attacked her, the fiend who had taken up his abode in her began to utter words of ill omen through her lips. Her father sent messengers to Sigebert, son of Theodoric,[2] who was betrothed to her, to tell him how it stood with the maiden. The king with all despatch sent two bishops, from whose merits he looked for great results, with royal gifts to the girl, that they might cure her of her madness through the medicine of prayer. The priest Willimar, wishing to reach the duke at the time appointed in the letter, said to St. Gall, 'Thou knowest the duke's command; let us go to him.' 'This journey,' answered Gall, 'is thy business, not mine; do thou therefore go. What have

[1] *Ad villam Iburningas*—the ducal seat at Ueberlingen in Baden. on Lake Constance.

[2] This prince, who was crowned in 613 and put to death the same year by the order of Clothair II, can have been only eleven or twelve years of age at the time of our story.

I to do with the princes of this world? I will return to the wilderness whence I came.' 'Do not so,' said the other, 'but come with me, lest haply the duke, being overmuch afflicted by the sufferings of his daughter, be moved to wrath and send his servants to bring thee to him in bonds.' The Saint, filled with the spirit of God, replied: 'I will first go to my cloister to make provision for the needs of the brethren who will serve God there in time to come.' (But this he said that he might avoid going to the duke.) And rising, the doughty soldier of the Lord went his way to the place long chosen for his habitation. The next day he charged the brethren who were with him not to tell anyone where he was going, but if they should be closely questioned to say that he had been summoned to Italy by a letter from his master Columbanus.[1] Then taking with him two of his disciples he journeyed through the wastes of Rhaetia Curiensis. Crossing the nearest mountain, they came to the wilderness called Sennia,[2] where they turned aside to the neighbouring village of Quaradaves. Here they found one Johannes, a deacon, a righteous and God-fearing man who received them with every office of hospitality and kindness; for they pretended they had just come from a great distance. With him they abode for a week.

XVI

How the priest was sent in search of the man of God; how the bishops sent by the king were unable to deliver the duke's daughter, and how they departed crestfallen, after the demon had acknowledged the power of St. Gall.

When the host of the holy men, the priest Willimar, heard that the man of God had left the cloister, he

[1] This looks very much like a falsehood on the part of Gall; though he may have really meant to go to Italy in case the duke should persist in his demands.

[2] Sennia = Sennwald; Quaradaves = Grabo, both in Canton St. Gall.

crossed the lake in a boat to the duke and told him what had happened. The duke bade him return immediately and send messengers after St. Gall to entreat him to come, adding: 'If the Lord in answer to his prayers delivers my daughter from the fiends, I will make him bishop of the church of Constance and will bestow on him abundant rewards to boot.' The priest promised to do as he was bid, provided he could find the Saint, and returned home in his bark. Meantime the bishops sent by the king arrived and found the maiden in a violent frenzy and her parents and kinsfolk and all her household weeping over her and weighed down with grief; the whole house seemed smitten by a common affliction, the girl being tormented with madness, the rest distracted with sorrow. The bishops on entering presented the gifts sent by the king and then poured out prayers to the Lord in the girl's presence. But she, wresting herself from the hands of those who held her, snatched a sword from one of them and tried to kill the bishops, but failed; whereupon the unclean spirit addressed one of them, saying: 'If thou wouldst cast me out of this vessel, as thou hast promised the king, why hast thou not brought the daughter begotten of thee on a nun?' Then turning to the other—'Thou too hast committed fornication with three women. I will never go forth at your command, seeing ye have no holiness to strengthen your words. But there is a man of great virtue in the sight of God, that Gallus who by his power drove me from Tucconia, where I had gained the repose I long desired, and was so bold as to destroy my dwelling-places; and who afterwards, finding me settled at Brigantium, dispossessed me of my estate by that same power of his. And because your duke banished him from Brigantium, I, to avenge him, have taken possession of this girl, and unless he himself come, nothing shall

induce me to quit.' Thereupon one of the bishops struck the raving girl in the face, saying, 'Hold thy peace, Satan, thou enemy of truth, lover and inventor of falsehood.' For he supposed that the fiend was speaking of a barndoor cock[1] (*gallus*). As the evil spirit assailed them with continual abuse, the bishops remained for three days only, then returned home and acquainted the king with all that had taken place.

XVII

How the man of God was called back by the priest and went to the duke.

Meantime the priest, in obedience to the duke's command, followed in the trace of the man of God and found him at last in a cave, refreshing his soul by reading. Going up to him, he saluted him humbly, saying, 'Fear not, thou servant of God, to come to the duke; for he has promised on his oath to do thee no hurt; nay, if thou wilt lay thy hand on his daughter's head and the unclean spirit depart from her through thy prayers, he will raise thee to the rank of bishop in the See of Constance.' While they were discussing the matter, the deacon Johannes arrived, bringing, as he was wont, loaves of unleavened bread for the Saint and a small flask of wine and vessels with oil and butter and milk, together with some boiled fish. The man of God was filled with joy at his coming and gave thanks to God; and the three faithful guests sat down to meat and partook of their Lord's gifts after offering thanks. While they were eating, St. Gall said to the priest: 'Spend this night with me and to-morrow I will go with thee if it be the Lord's will.' The priest consented, and the deacon said to the man of God: 'To-morrow at early dawn I will

[1] *De gallinaceo gallo.* If the story be not apocryphal, Gallus must have been the original form of our Saint's name; see Introd. ii.

come and bring my mule ready saddled that you may depart together; and I will meantime take charge of the cave.' 'Thou hast spoken well, my son,' answered St. Gall. 'I will return the way I came through the wilderness to my cloister and visit my brethren, and after that will hasten to the town[1] as quickly as I can.' The priest earnestly adjured him not to break his promise. They set out together and Johannes after receiving their blessing returned home. The Saint went straight to his cloister and rested there that night with the brethren, and next morning, taking two of them with him, he repaired to the town, where he found the priest and also a messenger from the duke urging him to come with all speed; for the girl (so the messenger told them) had been now for three days without food. They set out in a small bark, putting forth their utmost speed, so that their vessel cleft the surface of the deep, and they arrived that night at the duke's abode.

XVIII

How he delivered the duke's daughter from the evil spirit by his prayers and word.

When the darkness of night was vanquished and the sun was restoring the cheerful light of day to the earth, the duke summoned them to the chamber where the demoniac girl was lodged. She was lying in her mother's lap, with closed eyes, gaping mouth and limbs relaxed, like one already dead; and so foul a stench issued from her lips that the place seemed to reek with fumes of sulphur. Her father and the members of his household entered the room to see what the man of God would do. He, trusting in the Lord's bounty, fell humbly on his knees and with many tears uttered the following prayer: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, who for th

[1] i.e. Arbon.

salvation of mankind didst condescend to take on Thee our flesh and be born of a virgin; who didst command the winds and sea and badest the devil himself avaunt when he would have overcome Thee by his wiles; who didst vouchsafe by Thy passion to redeem the world and set it free: for the glory of Thy name bid the unclean spirit depart from this maid, that she, the work of Thy hands, may be delivered from the proud foe who hath taken possession of her and Thy creature may joyfully serve Thee her Creator.' Then arising from prayer, he took her right hand and raised her, for she was sore distraught by the fiend; and laying his hand on her head, he said: 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, O unclean spirit, I bid thee come forth and leave this creature of God.'[1] On these words she opened her eyes and gazed at him, and the fiend addressed him thus: 'Art thou that Gall who ere now hath driven me from my habitation? It was to avenge the wrong which yon duke did thee and thy fellows that I took possession of his daughter, and dost thou now cast me out? If I depart hence, whither shall I go?' 'Thither,' said Gall, 'where everlasting torment awaits thee, prepared for thee by the Lord in the abyss.' Straightway in the sight of all there issued from the girl's mouth the semblance of a bird, black and hideous.[2] That same hour she arose cured, and was restored rejoicing by the man of God to her rejoicing mother.

XIX

Why he refused the rank of bishop when it was offered him; and how, while distributing the duke's gifts among the poor, he exhorted his disciple to practise charity.

After this, the duke ordered the gifts sent by the king

[1] A regular formula for the exorcism of evil spirits. The function of *exorcista* still survives (in name) as one of the minor Orders of priesthood.

[2] Fiends often made their exit in this manner; cf. Bk. ii. 23.

to his daughter to be presented to St. Gall and besought him moreover to accept the high rank of bishop. But the saint replied: 'As long as my lord and father Columbanus lives, the ministry of the altar is forbidden me nor will I usurp it without his leave; wherefore the authority thou wouldst bestow is a weight I may not bear. But if it be in very truth thy will, wait awhile till I send a letter to my abbot to tell him of thy wish, and if I have his permission, then I will undertake the charge offered me.' 'Thou hast spoken well' said the duke; 'be it according to thy word,' and he dismissed him in peace. St. Gall took the gifts and rowed back across the lake; and the duke, deeply moved by so manifest a proof of his holiness, sent word to the governor of Arbona to repair with his staff of officials to the monastery and construct any buildings needed as the man of God should direct.

After the rowers had plied their oars in time to the rowing chant,[1] the holy father reached the town of Arbona; there he called together all the poor and needy and distributed among them the gifts he had brought. One of his disciples, named Magnoald, on seeing this said to him: 'My father, I have here a costly silver vessel, richly chased, which, if it be thy will, I will keep back that we may make of it vessels for the divine office.' 'My son,' answered Gall, 'remember the words which the blessed apostle Peter spoke to the palsied man who had looked for money: "Silver and gold have I none" (Acts iii. 6); and lest thou be found disobedient to his wholesome example, see that thou give the vessel thou hast to the poor. For my blessed

[1] *Post celeuma celebratum;* the *celeuma* was a chant or refrain to which the oarsmen kept stroke. From the metrical Life it appears on this occasion to have been a hymn sung by Gall himself: *Aequoreos fluctus dum verrit corbita levis, Non cessat sanctum Gallus cantare celeuma.*

teacher Columbanus is accustomed to offer the sacrifice of the Mass in vessels of iron, because it is said that our Saviour was nailed to the cross with iron nails.'

XX

How he summoned the deacon Johannes by a letter and instructed him with zealous affection.

After all this had taken place, St. Gall returned to the beloved wilderness which was to him a court,[1] (xx.) and shortly after sent a letter to the deacon Johannes asking him to come to him. On receiving his beloved master's missive, Johannes came at once, bringing such offerings as he could; and after presenting his gifts, he greeted his father and received a father's welcome. He asked the Saint how he had fared on his journey. 'Through the divine mercy which went before and followed us,' replied Gall, 'all has turned out well. The duke received us joyfully and God delivered his daughter from the fiend; and he himself bestowed on us gifts of no small value and moreover offered me the rank of bishop, which however I would not accept till I had learned my abbot's pleasure. Now then, my son, be governed by my counsel; stay with me and study the books of divine lore, and God's grace helping me, I will teach thee to interpret the Scriptures.' The deacon fell at his feet and thanked him; and sending home the attendants who had come with him, he himself stayed with the Saint; and Gall became his guide through the storehouses[2] of Scripture and revealed to him the hidden treasures both of the New Testament and the Old. And being illumined by divine favour, he made such progress under his master's zealous teaching, that ere long he

[1] *Ad dilectae solitudinis aulam.*
[2] *Cellaria.*

showed the results of the pains bestowed on him, being proficient in the whole range of the Scriptures.

XXI

How the duke's daughter told king Sigebert of the life of St. Gall and his miraculous powers, and won for him the king's favour and support.

When king Sigebert heard that the duke's daughter was restored to health, he sent word to her father desiring to see her. The duke, taking with him gifts of great value and a number of youths and maidens, besides a numerous retinue of his own, brought her to the Rhine and thence sent her on with an escort to the king.[1] Sigebert received her with joy and inquired how she had been cured of her malady, since the bishops who were sent to heal her had failed to do so. 'My lord,' she replied, 'in the province I have just quitted there is a man named Gall of Scottish race, who dwells in a wilderness and who has such merit in the sight of God that he has power even over demons. When I, thy handmaiden, was sore beset by the foe, so that my life hung in the balance and I was near death, this man of God came at my father's request, and making over me the sign of the cross, with voice of authority he bade my oppressor depart. Then in the sight of all there issued from my mouth as it were a crow, black as pitch and hideous as hell; and after I had been strengthened by partaking of the divine Sacrifice, I was restored to my former health.' Then falling at the king's feet, she added: 'I beseech thee, my lord, to grant this man thy special favour and be not tardy to pay him fitting thanks on my behalf.' The king asked in what wilderness this excellent man dwelt. 'In the mountain pass,' she

[1] To Metz, the scene of the following episode.

answered, ' which borders on the territory of Arbona ; it is common-land[1] and lies between the Rhaetian Alps and the shore of the Brigantine lake.' When the king heard that Gall was settled on common-land, he ordered a charter to be drawn up by which the saint would hold his dwelling-place by virtue of the royal authority. Together with this charter he sent two pounds of gold and the same weight of silver by his messengers to the man of God, commending himself to the Saint's prayers ; and he commanded the duke Gunzo to supply him with all that was needful for building a cloister in the wilderness if he so desired.

XXII

How the same maiden of set purpose fled from the nuptials of the king and surrendered herself to the service of God.

After the lapse of a few days, the king, wishing to wed the maiden, issued an order that the assembly of priests and nobles should be present at the marriage ceremony ; and entering the place where she was lodged, with a throng of high dignitaries, he said to her : ' Let us go up to the palace, for everything is ready for the wedding, and the priests and heads of the people have arrived with fitting gifts.'[2] On hearing these words, she fell at his feet, saying : ' My lord, I am but weakly after all I have suffered, my strength is exhausted and my limbs refuse their office ; grant me at least a week's respite that I may somewhat recover my strength ere I present myself to thy sight.' The king yielded to this request and returned to the palace, while she remained in her own apartment ; and in both places

[1] *Publici possessio iuris.* It is not stated by Wett. that St. Gall's settlement was on common-land, and the statement is inconsistent with Bk. ii. 10, where it is said that the place belonged to the hereditary estate of Waltramnus.

[2] *Cum benedictionibus congruis.*

great preparations were made for the festivity. Many indeed were surprised that these two, after being kept so long apart, should have deferred their union. When the week had passed, about the time of morning service, the maiden, accompanied by two men and two female attendants, entered the church of St. Stephen Protomartyr. There she withdrew behind the door, and unknown to her companions, took off her regal attire and donned the habit of a holier calling. Having thus laid aside the garb of earthly grandeur and sought the splendour of holiness by her self-abasement, she approached the altar and falling on her face, prayed earnestly to the Lord; then rising to her feet she laid hold of the horn of the altar and uttered these words: 'Blessed Stephen, who didst witness for Christ with thy blood, let my prayer find favour with the Lord through thy merits; that through thy intercession He may this day turn the heart of my lord the king unto my will and that the veil which I have put on for love of God may not be taken from my head.' On seeing this, the men who were with her went to the king and told him what had occurred. He summoned the priests and some of his nobles and asked them what they thought should be done. Then Cyprian bishop of Arles[1] answered the king: 'It is plain that the maiden bound herself with the vow she has carried out, at the time when she was freed from the evil spirit; beware therefore lest, if thou render her vow of none effect, she be assailed anew by the demon and her last state be worse than the first; so wouldst thou incur great guilt.' The king, being a man of steadfast justice and full of the fear of God, gave devout assent to this counsel, and entering the church, sent for the robe

[1] There was a bishop of Arles of this name, but it is very doubtful whether he held the See in 613; and in any case improbable that he should have been at Metz on this occasion.

which had been prepared for the bride and the diadem which was to crown her splendour ; and when they were fetched, he bade the girl come to him. But she, already the bride of God and enrolled among the followers of the Lamb, clung yet faster to the horns of the altar and would not let herself be torn from it, for she was afraid of being removed from the church. Then the king told her not to fear, saying : ' To-day thou shalt see thy wish fulfilled in all things.' She, wavering between hope and fear, laid her head on the altar and said : ' Behold the handmaid of the Lord ; be it unto me according to His will ' (Luke i. 38). The king told the priests to raise her and bring her to him and at his command she was clad with the royal robe and crowned with the sacred veil. And looking on her, the pious monarch said : ' Lo ! thou art arrayed to be my bride, but I yield thee to the embraces of a heavenly bridegroom, our Lord Jesus Christ, ' and taking her right hand he laid it on the altar. Then going outside the church, he gave vent to his hidden love in tears. Afterwards he sent for the maiden and made her remain in the palace ; and after bestowing costly gifts on her, he placed her over the convent of nuns built in honour of St. Peter, chief of apostles, in the city of Metz, where all the events above related took place. In all that she did on this occasion, the maiden followed the counsel of St. Gall who with the Lord's aid had delivered her from the evil spirit.

XXIII

How for three years Johannes profited by the teaching and example of the man of God.

In the meantime the deacon Johannes remained with the holy father, eagerly drinking in that heaven-bestowed wisdom which St. Gall so richly possessed in solving the

problems of Holy Scripture and laying the foundations of sound belief. He also learned to master and to find pleasure in the daily labours which St. Gall, following the austere discipline of the apostles, used to perform with unflagging zeal and promptness. Illumined by divine grace, whatever he did but see or hear he committed to the depths of his memory or, if I may use the phrase, stored up in the coffer[1] of his heart. Thus he passed three years under St. Gall's tutelage in the constant exercise of meekness and humility.

XXIV

How St. Gall in the duke's council declined to be made a bishop.

At the end of this time, the duke sent a letter to the man of God, asking him to come to Constance to choose a bishop for the See. He likewise summoned the bishops of Augustodunum and Veridunum[2] with a large number of their clergy and the bishop of Nemidona (now called Speier), and sent moreover messengers and letters throughout Alemannia bidding the priests, deacons and clergy in general assemble at Constance on the day appointed, to wit, the Sunday next after Easter. He himself with his leading nobles and counts was present at the gathering. Attended by this vast concourse the Synod was opened and it was announced that it would last for three days. St. Gall, guided by divine counsel, took with him Johannes and Magnoald, both of whom had been raised to the office of deacon, and arrived at

[1] *In armario*, rather 'cupboard.'

[2] *Augustidunensem* (*Augustudensem*, Wett.) *et Veridunensem episcopos*. Veridunum = Verdun; Augustidunum = Autun, but possibly here for Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicorum*) or Augst (*Augusta Rauracorum*), the See of which was afterwards transferred to Basle and which in Jon. ii. 8 is in some MSS. called Augustidunum. The election was held in the Cathedral Church of St. Mary at Constance.

the town; and on his entering the place of assembly, the duke pronounced the following words: 'May God Almighty, by whose providence the whole body of the Church is governed and increased, through the merits and intercession of blessed Mary ever Virgin, to whom this place is dedicated, pour out His Spirit upon us this day that we may choose a bishop fit to rule the flock of the faithful and to guide the Church of God with a shepherd's care.' Then he called upon the bishops and clergy to elect a ruler for the church in accordance with the canon law. Whereupon all the clergy began with one voice to say: 'Yonder Gall is well spoken of by all who know his life. He has attained the highest degree of proficiency in Holy Scripture; he shines in beauty of life and in the light of wisdom; in him are joined uprightness and chastity, gentleness and humility, self-restraint and long-suffering. He is a generous almsgiver, a father to the orphan and prompt to succour the widow in her distress. It is meet that one who practises every virtue should be the pastor of the people.' On hearing this, the duke said to Gall: 'Dost thou hear what they say of thee?' 'They say well indeed,' answered the holy father; 'would that their words were true! But in treating of this matter, they forget that it is forbidden in the canons that anyone who has left his own country should without more ado be ordained bishop in another.[1] There is, however, here with me a deacon named Johannes on whom the praises they have given me may deservedly be bestowed. Believing him to be chosen by the divine judgment I now commend him to you for election to the bishopric.'

[1] A rule was made to this effect at the Synod of Clichy-sur-Seine, 626–627; it is also laid down in a letter from Pope Celestine I to the bishop of Vienne.

XXV

How Johannes was advanced to that dignity and consecrated; and of the tenderness which St. Gall and he had for each other thereafter.

The saint's testimony won for Johannes the favour of all, for they could not but believe what one so beloved of God avouched concerning him; and the duke called Johannes into the midst, saying: 'Art thou the deacon Johannes?' 'I am,' replied he. 'Of what race art thou?' inquired the duke. 'I was born in Rhaetia Curiensis of a family of humble rank,' said Johannes. 'Canst thou bear the weight,' asked the duke, 'of a bishop's mitre?' Here St. Gall interposed, saying that he would answer for Johannes as for a son. Whilst they were discussing the matter, the deacon slipped away and went and hid himself in the Church of St. Stephen Martyr outside the town. But priests and people followed him thither and laid hold of him, and he was brought back to the presence of the bishops and the duke, protesting indeed, but shedding tears of joy withal; and all lifted up their voices with one accord, saying: 'The Lord hath chosen Johannes to be His bishop this day.' And all the people answered 'Amen!' Then the bishops led him to the altar and consecrated him with solemn benediction; and when the ceremony was ended, they asked him to celebrate Mass. When the divine sacrifice had been offered in due form and the Gospel lesson read, they begged St. Gall to minister to the assembled crowd the food of sacred doctrine. He mounted on a step, taking with him the bishop Johannes, in order that the latter might interpret for the benefit of those who understood no Latin,[1] the matters which he himself

[1] *Ad usum barbarorum.* St. Gall, as we have seen, spoke the Alemannic (or High German) dialect fluently; but no doubt the august occasion and the presence of so many distinguished ecclesiastics, some of them strangers, called for Latin.

expounded for their edification. He began his discourse with the Creation and the sin for which Adam was driven from Paradise; then passing on to the Deluge, he dealt in order with the times of the patriarchs and their doings. He told how the children of Israel left Egypt and passed through the Red Sea, how they received the Law from Moses and were miraculously fed from heaven. Then after touching briefly on the kings in their order and the times of the prophets, he told of the coming of the Saviour, of His baptism and His glorious miracles, of the wicked persecutions He endured and His shameful death on the cross. As the pastors of the church and the assembled throng listened, they were moved to tears and said one to another, 'Truly the Holy Spirit hath spoken to-day by the mouth of this man.' Then St. Gall continued his discourse to the resurrection of Christ and finished by telling of the last Judgment. All his hearers were lifted up in spirit and returned to their homes full of joy and blessing the Lord.[1]

The venerable teacher remained with the bishop Johannes for the space of a week, during which he gave him much salutary advice and encouragement, constantly repeating these words: 'Whom God hath chosen, man shall not despise; whom the divine judgment commends, he shall be exalted in the esteem of all.' Then he returned to his cloister after receiving Johannes' benediction; and the bishop ordered the stewards of the See to repair to the man of God and obey all his commands. Thenceforth so strong a mutual affection was maintained between these two that they seemed to cleave together in spirit and be divided in body only. The master with

[1] The sermon said to have been preached by Gall on this occasion was long preserved in a codex in the Library, from which it was published by Henry Canisius in his *Lect. Ant.* (1601–4); it corresponds to Walahfrid's summary. The codex was lost in the disturbances of 1712.

a father's tenderness continually supported the disciple by his prayers and wholesome counsels; the disciple paid his teacher the honour due to a father and provided for all his needs; and their holy fellowship grew ever stronger through their increasing respect and love for one another.

XXVI

How St. Gall learnt the death of St. Columbanus in a vision and having sent his disciple, found that it had happened even so.

In course of time this eminent cultivator of virtues built a small church and round it cells for the accommodation of his brethren; for he had now twelve followers, in whom his teaching and example had kindled the desire to seek those things which are eternal, fortified by the monastic life. One day, when the monks had returned to their beds after matins, as dawn was breaking the man of God called his deacon Magnoald and said to him, 'Make all ready for the service of Mass, that I may celebrate the divine mysteries without delay.' 'Wilt thou then thyself celebrate Mass?' inquired Magnoald. 'After vigils this night past,' answered Gall, 'I learnt in a vision that my lord and father Columbanus had passed from the miseries of this life to the joys of Paradise to-day;[1] therefore it behoves me to offer Mass for his repose.' The bell was accordingly sounded, the monks entered the oratory and prostrated themselves in prayer, Mass was said and earnest petitions were offered on behalf of St. Columbanus. After the service, St. Gall said to the deacon Magnoald: 'My son, think it not too much if I make a request of thee. Set out straightway for Italy and journey till thou come to the monastery of Bobbio; there make diligent inquiry concerning all that

[1] St. Columbanus died in 615 on November 23, a Sunday—a circumstance mentioned by Wett.

has happened to my abbot, and if thou find he is dead, note well the day and hour, that thou mayst know whether there be truth in my vision ; and when thou hast ascertained all, come back and tell me.' The deacon threw himself at his master's feet, pleading that he did not know the way ; but the saint in reassuring tones bade him not be afraid, saying, 'Go and the Lord will direct thy steps.' Strengthened by these words of comfort, the disciple obeyed his holy teacher's command and after receiving a blessing to sustain him on the road set out with speed. When he reached the monastery of Bobbio, he found that all had happened just as had been revealed to his father Gall in the vision. He stayed there for a night and the monks gave him a letter for St. Gall recounting the final passage of St. Columbanus, and also sent by him the staff of Columbanus (which is vulgarly called the *cambota* [1]), saying that the holy abbot before his decease had given orders that Gall should receive his absolution by means of this familiar token. Taking his leave of them, the deacon sped on his way and faring well on his journey reached his lord and father on the eighth day, bringing the letter and the

[1] Or *cambutta* (Wett., V.V.), a term which signifies either a pastoral or episcopal staff or crozier, or a staff for walking ; here probably the latter. According to the Life of St. Magnus, the *cambutta* of Columbanus passed on Gall's death into the hands of his disciple Magnus or Magnoald, the founder of Füssen. It seems, however, to have been in St. Gall's monastery in the days of Notker Balbulus, who, as we are told by Ekkehard IV, once drove away the devil by its aid. Be that as it may, the monks of Füssen had later in their possession a staff supposed to be the *cambutta* of St. Gall, by means of which many miracles were wrought ; it was considered particularly efficacious in freeing the neighbouring soil from insect pests ; an instance of its power in this respect, which occurred in 1718, being attested in a letter written by the magistrates of Ingolstadt to the abbot of Füssen. In the notes to the Boll. Life of St. Magnus there is a description of this staff together with a drawing of it, made in 1745 ; it was about three feet long and at that time plated with silver, with an effigy of St. Magnus quelling a dragon on the upper end.

token of absolution. St. Gall, who still cherished a warm affection for his father Columbanus, shed copious tears on reading the letter and told the assembled brethren the reason of his grief; and thenceforward they offered up continual prayers and Masses in memory of that sainted father.

XXVII

Of the miracle whereby a board was lengthened.

One day while Gall and his brethren were engaged in building the Church, a plank which was destined for one of the walls was found to be shorter than its fellows by four palms' length. The workmen would have thrown it away, but St. Gall, conscious of the power he possessed in the Lord, bade them give over work and enter the house with him to partake of the meal which the Lord had provided. They obeyed and he blessed the bread and distributed it with his own hands. On returning to their unfinished work after the repast, they found the plank which they were about to throw away because of its shortness, now longer than all the rest by half a foot,[1] and marvelling at its miraculous growth, they fixed it in its proper place in the wall. This same plank used long after to be much resorted to by the faithful and through the Lord's doing proved an efficacious cure for toothache, thus enhancing the glory of the original miracle by a succession of new ones. From this incident we may estimate the greatness of St. Gall's merits and the power of his intercession; for, in the first place, contrary to nature a piece of dry wood grew longer; and lest this miracle should fall into oblivion, it was continually recalled to memory by fresh portents.

[1] This miracle is alluded to by Notker Balbulus in his Martyrologium (written about 870). One cannot help wondering why the plank was not made the length required.

XXVIII

How the brethren who came from Luxovium were satisfied by St. Gall's reasons ; and how they were abundantly refreshed with food bestowed from heaven.

After a time Eustasius, abbot of the monastery of Luxovium, who had been appointed by Columbanus of blessed memory, passed from the exile of this life to the fatherland on high.[1] The monks held counsel and decided to recall St. Gall and commit themselves to his rule ; and they sent six of their number who had originally come from Ireland to bear him a letter setting forth their wishes. The messengers travelled by direct route to the cloister of the man of God, where as soon as their arrival was announced, they were conducted to prayers ; after which they entered the house and presented the letter. When the Saint had read it, he said to them : ' My brethren, being earnestly desirous to imitate that prophet who said : I am become a stranger unto my brethren and an alien unto my mother's children (Ps. lxix. 8), I left my kinsfolk and acquaintance and even sought the recesses of the wilderness that I might have more leisure and freedom to serve the Lord ; aye, and besides renouncing my family and patrimony, I refused the rank of bishop and the riches of this world ; and how, after giving up so much and embracing poverty, shall I again be entangled in the affairs of this life, uplifted by its honours and weighed down by its burdens ? Far be it from me that having put my hand to the plough I should now look back on what I have left, like a dog which returns to its vomit (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 22). Ye yourselves know that when I was among you I was ever at special pains to be humble and obedient ; and do ye think now to

[1] Eustasius abbot of Luxeuil died in 627 or possibly a little earlier.

urge me to a position so exalted? Make your plans anew and turn elsewhere, for the Lord will not suffer me to change the purpose I have formed.' With these and like words he dispelled from their minds all hope of obtaining their request. Then he called one of his monks and asked what they were to have for their next meal. On hearing that there was only a small measure of flour for them all, he bade them make it into loaves and gather some vegetables, saying: 'The Lord is able to prepare a table in the wilderness' (Ps. lxxxviii. 20). Then he himself took his net and accompanied by one of his disciples and the brethren who had just arrived, he went to the pool in the stream, saying, 'Let us see whether the Lord of His mercy will grant us some little fishes for our needs.'

On reaching the pool in which the waters of the stream were collected, they saw a big fish swimming in it, chased by two otters. They threw in their net, caught the fish and brought it to land; they found it to measure twelve palms in length and four in breadth. The otters meantime plunged into the depths; but when the holy fishermen had thrown their net a second time and were driving the fishes from their hiding places by beating the water, they came again to the surface and drove such a multitude of fishes into the net that it burst in several places. As soon as they had landed their booty, the Saint (who had plenty of practical wisdom) with the help of his companions threw back some of the fish into the water, and said to the brethren: 'It is because of your coming to-day that the Lord hath vouchsafed us this wondrous sign of His bounty.' They, on the other hand, declared it was due to his own merits; and thus conversing they returned home, he leading the way at a brisk pace. And behold! as they neared the entrance to the cloister, there appeared a man who brought with

him as a proof of his devotion two skins full of wine and three pecks of flour. The gifts were thankfully received and they all partook of food; and when their bodies were refreshed, they were fain to feast their souls also with converse on spiritual themes. St. Gall kept them for some days and because of his regard for them bestowed on them every attention. He also told them much which he had learnt on sure authority concerning their common father Columbanus. Then he dismissed them with the kiss of peace and armed with his blessing they returned home.

XXIX

How the holy father, while intent on teaching the people at Arbon, departed to be with the Lord.

The time was now at hand when the Author and Increaser of all good things meant to take His champion from the wrestling-ground of this world and crown him with lasting laurels. Not long after the events related, the priest Willimar came to the Saint and asked him to return with him to the town,[1] saying in tone of humble and piteous entreaty: 'My father, why hast thou forsaken me and deprived me of thy wholesome instructions, seeing I depend on thy words and hearken to thee willingly? I know of no reason save the foulness of my sins; for surely thou wouldst not deprive me of the comfort of thy teaching, if my life did not displease thee. Now then, cast us not off because of our sins, but come at the Lord's bidding and bestow on us thy wonted kindness, opening the way of truth to those who seek it.' Touched by his supplication, the saint went down to the town with him; and on a festival day, when a large audience had gathered, he refreshed their hungry hearts

[1] Arbon.

with his eloquence, and the wisdom which shone in his discourse filled them all with joy and veneration. After he had stayed two days in Arbona, on the third he was attacked by a fever which rapidly increased to such a pitch that he could neither return to his cloister nor take any nourishment. He lay ill for a fortnight; and on the sixteenth day of October (to wit, the seventeenth Calends of November), having completed the ninety-fifth year of his age, he was delivered from this house of bondage and yielded up his soul full of merits to cleave henceforth to abiding joys.

XXX

How the Bishop Johannes was present at his funeral and discovered that the Saint should not be buried in that place.

When Johannes, the head of the church of Constance, heard that St. Gall was ill at Arbona, he set out in a boat to cheer his faithful friend with a visit, taking with him such kinds of food and drink as he deemed suited for the invalid. As he drew nigh the landing-place, he heard the sound of wailing proceeding from the priest's house and inquired the cause; and on being told that St. Gall, the truest and most intimate friend he possessed, had departed from the perils of this life, he plunged into the water—for his grief was so great that he could not wait till the boat touched the shore—and landing with his attendants entered the priest's house, giving vent to his sorrow in word and gesture. He found the saint's body already wrapped in a shroud and placed in a coffin; and opening the coffin and gazing on his friend's corpse, he shed bitter tears and said: 'Alas, beloved father! best of teachers! why didst thou bring me from my father's house to leave me an orphan in the midst of dangers? why hast thou by thy untimely death shattered the hope with which I looked forward to thy counsels? To thee

ndeed death is a gain, for it has brought thee the reward thou didst so earnestly desire ; but to us, still beset by the storms of this world, it is a source of manifold woe. But though we grieve that thy life in the body is cut short, we ought rather to rejoice that thy immortal soul is set free, being assured that thou wilt not cease to aid with thy prayers those whom thou wast wont to strengthen with thy advice and example.' While he was speaking, the priest urged him to rise and make supplication in more formal wise [1] to the Lord for the repose of the departed. So they entered the church and the bishop offered up Mass for his beloved friend. After this tribute of brotherly affection, looking round, he saw the grave in which the saint was to be buried ; and taking a cross and all things customary in a funeral service, they returned to the house to bear the treasured remains to the burial-place. But when they had placed the coffin on the bier and were going to carry it to the grave, they could not move it with all their efforts. They were amazed at a portent so unusual, and while they were debating the matter, the bishop said, ' Of a truth I perceive that my father Gall is not satisfied with this spot for his burial.' Then he bade the priest find two horses yet unbroken and have them brought.[2] This was done ; with much difficulty the horses were saddled and led to the place where the body was lying ; and the bishop along with the clergy offered the following prayer : ' O God, who by the power of Thy majesty art present in all places at the one time ; it was for love of Thee that this man left

[1] *Ut . . . ambitiosius Dominum precaretur.*

[2] Similarly in Jonas' *Life of St. Vedast* we are told that when the Saint was going to be buried, the bier could not be moved till a priest present remembered that the Saint had desired another burial-place than that selected for him. Cf. also the story told by Muirchu of St. Patrick's body being drawn by oxen to Downpatrick (Trip. Life, p. 298).

his country, that he might obey Thy commands; grant that his body may be born by these untamed horses to the spot assigned by Thy will to his merits.' To this prayer all present responded 'Amen.'

XXXI

How a sick man was healed by the gift of clothing which had belonged to the Saint.

This seems the proper place to tell of a miracle which the Lord vouchsafed to work during the funeral of His confessor, in order to show plainly to all that His servant, freed from the prison of the flesh, was now at last enjoying true life with Him. Among those present was a certain beggar[1] who among other painful effects of disease was so crippled in all his joints that he was wholly unable to walk. When the priest was distributing the Saint's clothes among the poor, he gave this man his shoes and leggings. Delighted with the gift, the cripple lost no time in fitting the sacred spoils to his own legs and feet; no sooner had he done so than his joints were loosened, and leaping up, he cried out with a loud voice, giving thanks unto the Lord and to St. Gall, to whose merits he perceived his cure to be due. On beholding this miracle, the bishop and all present glorified God with one consent, saying, 'The Lord hath this day vouchsafed to declare the glory of His servant by a manifest token of His power.' They gave a wax taper to the man who was healed and he followed the funeral procession with the rest. This was the first miracle which the Lord wrought in memory of the Saint after his decease.

[1] In V. V. we are told that the beggar's name was Maurus.

XXXII

The proofs of his austerity which were discovered after his death.

During the funeral of the blessed pastor, another proof, and that no small one, of his holiness came to light. He had a case made of leather which he always kept carefully locked, never allowing the key to pass out of his own possession, so that none of his disciples as long as he lived could ever find out what was in it; and wherever he went, he used to carry this case slung over his shoulder. Now that he had passed away, they took the key and opened the case and found in it a small hair shirt and an iron chain stained with blood. Upon this they examined their master's body and found the marks made by the chain where it used to gird him, the flesh being deeply furrowed in four places, so that the hair shirt was here and there stained through by the blood which oozed from the wounds. They placed the case with its contents at the head of the bier and carried it with the body to the burial-place, where they hung these three tokens of his self-mortification at the head of his tomb. There, in after days, the Lord, working many miracles through them, revealed the Saint's merits to those who came with devout intent. From this we may gather that though St. Gall did not shed his blood as a victim of persecution, yet as a Confessor, by offering himself a living sacrifice in the odour of sanctity to the Lord and daily taking up his cross to follow the Saviour, he endured the sufferings of martyrdom and earned its reward.

XXXIII

How his body was borne to the place of burial by untamed horses.

After the sanctity of their revered father had been thus openly revealed to all present at the funeral both by

miracle and by these other proofs, the bishop approached the bier and raising one end, while the priest lifted the other, placed it across the horses' backs, saying to the bystanders : ' Take the bridles from the horses' heads and leave them free to go whither the Lord wills.' Then they took cross and candles and set out, chanting psalms and hymns. The horses, swerving neither to right nor left, made in a straight line for the Saint's cloister. There the bier was taken down and placed in front of the oratory, and his disciples, lifting the remains of their holy teacher, carried them in and laid them before the altar. Then they joined the bishop in prayer on his behalf and after offering petitions suitable to the occasion, dug a grave between the wall and the altar and buried him ; and when all had been done in due order, the crowd which had gathered for the funeral received the bishop's benediction and returned to their homes.

XXXIV

The miracle of the tapers ; and the end of the book.

When the precious remains had thus been consigned in peace to that favoured spot, the Lord, wishing to comfort the grief of the mourners, wrought a miracle of very unusual nature to show that the spirit of their friend was with Him in glory. When taking up the body before leaving the town, they lit two wax tapers, which were carried burning to the burial place and set one at the head and the other at the foot of the grave. Wondrous to relate, for thirty days following[1] the tapers continued to burn without being one whit diminished. And in proof that the melting wax was endued with this power of lasting from heaven, many

[1] An allusion to the customary expiation of thirty days celebration for the faithful departed.

prodigies were wrought by it in after days. For if any one suffering from toothache or inflammation of the eyes or stoppage of the ears did but take a piece of wax from those tapers and apply it to the part affected, he instantly received the coveted boon of health. Later such efficacious power in the healing of divers disorders was manifested at the Saint's tomb to all who came and implored his intercession in faith, that the report went out to all the neighbouring regions, and their inhabitants resorted thither in numbers.

And now, holy fathers, seeing that if the life and miracles of St. Gall were compressed into a single book, they might cause the reader some weariness by their length, I have decided to divide this work into two books, the first giving a truthful account of his life and deeds up to his burial, the second dealing with the miracles which the Lord afterwards wrought on account of his merits: to wit, in the first place, those which have been handed down to us by previous writers, and secondly, those which in our own time were taken down from the lips of unimpeachable witnesses by our beloved brother Gozbert.[1] This I have done in order that the events may not be scattered and disconnected through their having been written down at various times, but those which are related by their nature may also be joined in the order of the narrative. And now let me bring my first book to an end, leaving for the following one all that yet remains to be told.

Here endeth the first Book of the Life and Passing-over[2] of St. Gall, the Confessor of Christ.

[1] Surnamed *Calvus* (the Bald), a monk of St. Gall, nephew of Abbot Gozbert and author of a compilation of the Saint's miracles, also of a life of St. Otmar. See below, ch. 9.

[2] *Transitu.* The word *mors* 'death' is never, I think, used of a saint in hagiographical literature.

BOOK II

THE MIRACLES WHICH THE LORD VOUCHSAFED TO WORK AFTER ST. GALL'S DECEASE BECAUSE OF HIS MERITS

I

How enemies desecrated the tomb of St. Gall.

After the death of the blessed Gall his merits continued day by day to be gloriously manifested in signs and miracles, the fame whereof gladdened the ears of all who dwelt in the country around far and wide. After the lapse of forty years,[1] Otwin, who held sway over those regions, came with a great army and stirred up by diabolic fury laid waste a great part of the district which from the river flowing through it is called Durgewi ;[2] he also ravaged with fire and sword the lands of Constance and the district around Arbona. He put to the sword all

[1] There are difficulties in accepting this number, given both by Wett. and Wal. Both Magnoald and Theodore must have been old men forty years after Gall's death ; yet they subsequently travelled to Bavaria, where they founded respectively the monasteries of Füssen and Kempten. In the *V. Magni* the invasion of Otwin is said to have taken place three years after the death of Gall. Mistakes in chronology are common in mediaeval literature owing to the fact that the Roman numerals used were easily miswritten and changed by copyists. Perhaps in both lives we should read xi (eleven) instead of xl, as Ildefons von Arx suggests, or with the Boll. editor xv (fifteen), which would bring the date to about 642. In that year it is nearly certain that Boso was Bishop of Constance. There is no historic record of Otwin or Erchonaldus (Erchanoldus, Wett.) ; but in 642 one Echinoaldus was appointed *Major Domus* of Neustria, though his character, as given by Fredegarius (' a man long-suffering and full of kindness . . . humble and well-disposed towards priests . . . following after peace ') hardly bears out Walahfrid's account ; and about that year there appear to have been civil dissensions in Alemannia.

[2] Thurgau, named after the River Thur, a tributary of the Rhine.

the men who came in his way and carried off their wives and children; he seized their stock and household goods and caused the crops to be utterly destroyed. The people of Arbona fled terror-stricken into the wilderness with all their possessions and took refuge at the cloister of St. Gall. There they dug a pit in which they hid their belongings, filling it up with earth and scattering flax-seed over it that the hiding-place might not be discovered. After laying waste the district of Arbona, the enemy tracked the fugitives to the cloister and bound and led away all they found, sending the younger men into captivity. Erchonaldus, who wast he prefect Otwin's deputy, lived on the outskirts of the wilderness and was consequently well acquainted with the cloister; he repaired thither and entering the oratory found seated in it a beggar whom he knew. 'Tell me,' said he to the beggar, 'where these fellows whom we have found stript and destitute have hidden all the clothes and tools and gold and silver which they used to have?' 'Better for me' replied the beggar, 'to betray their secrets than bring down your wrath upon me!' 'If thou do so,' said Erchonaldus, 'thou shalt be partner with us and have thy share of the spoils.' Induced by this promise, the beggar arose and led them to the underground store. The deputy ordered the pit to be opened and divided all the treasures he found in it among his followers. Then, thinking it likely that other valuables might be concealed in the neighbourhood, they roamed about carefully searching and marking each spot. Erchonaldus with seven of his attendants entered the oratory to make search there also. They closed the door and pounded the clay floor in hopes of finding money; at last one of them, getting behind the altar, struck the ground there and on hearing a reverberation from the cavity of the tomb beneath, 'Here,' cried he, 'is just what you want.'

The unhallowed gravediggers [1] ran to the spot and began to dig, and when they reached the coffin, they dragged it forth saying: 'These Rhaetians are cunning rogues, we had better see if they have hidden anything beneath this chest.' But while they were intent on their sacrilege, a sudden panic seized them; they turned to fly and each of them striving to be first at the door, they lost their wits and drawing their swords fell upon each other. Erchonaldus, their leader in guilt, tried in his terror to leap through the doorway, but struck his head against the lintel and fell senseless to earth. He was carried home by his followers; and for the whole of that year he lay seriously ill, suffering pains unknown before, till he was wasted away and his skin peeled and his hair and even his finger-nails fell off. And that the marks of the divine vengeance might long be visible to all, he remained thus disfigured, a spectacle to men, for the rest of his days.

II

How Bishop Boso restored his body to the grave.

When Boso, bishop of the church of Constance, heard that the sepulchre of St. Gall had been rifled by enemies and that no one was left to restore the sacred remains to the tomb save the monks Magnoald and Theodore, he went there with his clergy. He found the cloister pillaged, the body of the holy father torn from the grave, the altars stripped and the two brethren, despoiled of their belongings, lying in the oratory and loudly bewailing their misfortunes. Moved with compassion, he tried to comfort them at some length, repeating to them the words of the Psalmist: 'I called upon the Lord in trouble, and the Lord heard me at large. The Lord is on my side; I will not fear what man doeth unto

[1] *Pollinctores*; see Vulg., Ezek. xxxix. 15.

me' (Ps. cxviii. 5, 6). Then he took the coffin in which the Saint's body was enclosed and placed it again between the wall and the altar, but above the ground, and over it (as is customary) [1] he constructed a shrine of some height; the former grave he filled with earth. He provided the monks at his own cost with clothes and the means of procuring food and then returned to his see.

III

How those who committed the outrage were punished.

After a considerable lapse of time, Pepin, the Mayor of the Palace,[2] sent a large force to pillage the province of Alemannia and bring it under Frankish rule again. The whole land was laid waste in this raid and overrun by freebooters greedy of gain. A band of these, roaming through the district round Arbona, made their way to the cloister of the man of God and took prisoners all whom they found there; for many had fled thither for refuge, trusting in the mercy of God and the relics [3] of the Saint. Five of Pepin's soldiers entered the oratory and found in it certain serving-women belonging to the place with their children. They asked who they were and on hearing that the women belonged to the family [4] of St. Gall, exclaimed: 'Out with you! we know not the Saint ye speak of'; and they carried them off captives to France. But before the year was out, these same men were seized by evil spirits, and losing their wits, they wandered

[1] *Ut moris est*; no doubt referring, as the Boll. editor observes to what was technically termed the 'elevation' of a saint, i.e., the removal of his remains from the grave to an elevated shrine.

[2] Pepin of Heristal (the father of Charles Martel) who died in 714. Between 709-712 he made war against Willeharius, Duke of Allemannia.

[3] *Patrocinia*, often = relics.

[4] The word *familia*, commonly used of a religious community, included the tenants or serfs dependent on it.

about naked and whenever they entered a town or village used to proclaim the cause wherefore they were tormented, saying: ''Tis the abbot Gall laid these bonds upon us.' And in this sad plight, forever recalling their guilt, they passed the remainder of their lives and came to a miserable end.

IV

How the pall over the Saint's shrine caught fire and was made whole again by a miracle.

A deacon named Stephen, who performed the duties of sacristan in the church of the holy father, brought one evening a lighted candle into the oratory and placed it on a candle-stick close by the Saint's tomb. The candle, not being set straight, toppled over and fell on the shrine, where it set fire to one of the palls and burnt half of it; then the flames died away, without doing any damage either to the shrine or the staff [1] suspended over it or the other linen coverings spread above the tomb. It is evident that the conflagration took place rather that the power of the Saint might be made known than that his property should be injured, for, as will presently appear, the pall which had been thus reduced in size by the flame was restored to its original state by a manifest miracle. Next morning the brethren on entering the chapel saw what had happened and were not a little amazed. But on the following day, when they assembled for Matins, they found the tapers lighted in the chapel and two youths standing, one at the head and the other at the foot of the shrine, holding stretched between them the pall which had been attacked by the fire. They were terrified at this sight and beat a hasty retreat. But even as they regained their couches, the

[1] *Baculo; cambuttam*, Wett.; possibly the *cambutta* spoken of above, Book I, 26.

church bell sounded and they heard two choirs chanting in alternate refrain with a harmony passing belief. Throughout that day they did not venture into the chapel; but on the following they gathered in a body before the door and prostrated themselves in prayer, after which they entered, though still sore afraid. They found the pall which had been partly consumed, now spread over the shrine as of old; nor did it show the least trace of having been curtailed, but on the contrary was increased by three cubits both in width and length. With hearts gladdened by this signal miracle, they blessed the Lord who had thus vouchsafed to declare the merits of His servant by such manifest tokens of His favour.

V

Of the miracle by which a bird was sent and of many other signs wrought by the Saint.

It happened once that owing to a shortage of food there was no meat for the monks to eat. This same Stephen and some others were sitting in the monastery and talking of their want; and while they were endeavouring to cheer one another, a bird such as they had never seen before perched on the threshold. One of them snatched a brand from the fire and struck the bird with it. They cooked it for a meal and on tasting the flesh found it to be of a flavour exquisite beyond belief. This, I believe, was due to the Saint's merits; for as by a miracle in olden time the people of God were sustained in the wilderness with the flesh of quails, even so the strange bird was sent to the servants of St. Gall, and the food thus divinely bestowed had a relish hitherto unknown.

But so many were the miracles which the Lord at divers times wrought at the Saint's tomb, that even

with the utmost zeal they could not all be written down. Because of their number I must therefore pass over many and can include in this brief work only a few outstanding ones which specially deserve to be handed down to the memory of later ages. For not only have the dead been restored to life,[1] but many other bodily infirmities have been and are still healed there by the Lord's bounty: demoniacs have been cured and sick persons restored to health, deaf ears have been opened and eyes purged of their mists, the silence of the dumb hath been broken, the impotence of the palsied removed; nay, whosoever in distress of body or mind prays earnestly and with entire faith at the sepulchre of St. Gall will by no means lose the fruit of his prayers, but will speedily feel with joy the gifts of divine bounty whereby the Lord approves the merits of His Confessor.

VI

How a gift destined for the Saint was preserved from burning.

In the days when Carloman was Mayor of the Palace[2] a miracle was performed through the Saint's merits which deserves to be recorded in this work. A certain poor man in the district called Perahtoltespara[3] and his wife had in earnest devotion determined to go to the monastery of St. Gall to pray. For this devout purpose

[1] There is no record of any miracle of this kind.

[2] On the death of Charles Martel in 741, his principality was divided between his sons Carloman and Pepin le Bref, the former assuming the government of Austrasia and the territories beyond the Rhine, the latter that of Neustria, Burgundy and Provence. In 747 Carloman resigned his authority to his brother and went to Italy, where he became a monk in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino (see ch. 10 below). In 752 Pepin deposed the last Merowingian king and took the title of King of the Franks. Otmar († 759) was abbot at this time, not later, as might be inferred from the close of this chapter.

[3] A district extending over the modern Black Forest or Schwarzwald.

the wife wove a small altar-cloth for an offering to the sanctuary, and wrapping it round a cake [1] of wax likewise designed for an offering, she placed it in her chest among articles of clothing. While they were making ready for their journey the house caught fire and was burnt with everything it contained. When the flames had at last died down, they began to search among the heaps of embers for whatever might be left of their household gear. Wondrous to relate! among the glowing ashes and cinders they found the wax and the cloth in which it was wrapt and not the least trace of injury was to be seen in either, though the chest itself and all its other contents were wholly destroyed by the fire. They blessed God on beholding a miracle of such power and set out on their journey to the monastery as they had intended. There, after telling the monks what had happened, they presented the gift which, being hallowed by its purpose, had escaped destruction in the utmost peril. The altar-cloth and wax were kept as a witness unto coming generations and remained in the monastery till the time of Abbot Otmar.

VII

How punishment overtook one who wrongfully kept back a horse which he had vowed to give.

Nor do I think I ought to pass over in silence an event which is said to have occurred in the same district in the time when Pepin was king.[2] A certain man named Willimar, suffering from a severe illness, vowed, if restored to health, to give a horse and two cows to the church of St. Gall. From that day he obtained relief and was at last fully cured. Soon after

[1] *Formellam*, a term applied to a round cheese. Wax, it will be noted, was a common offering to monasteries.

[2] Between 752–768.

it happened that he went with his lord Birhtilo to the monastery to pray, riding the very horse which he had vowed as an offering. After prayer the whole party took their departure, but they were not yet far from the church when the horse which its faithless owner had promised to give and then kept back, suddenly stood still and refused to move, though its rider plied it with whip and spur. The others, seeing this, asked the cause of the wonder, and Willimar, overwhelmed with shame, made full confession of his guilt in breaking his vow. All turned back and led the horse to the threshold of the church; and having offered it and received a blessing, they returned home without further hindrance. In this incident the divine compassion was displayed as well as the power of the Saint, for one who, left to himself, would never have come to his senses, was led by timely reproof to amendment.

VIII

How wax stolen for an offering was turned into stone.

I should also like to recall a miracle which took place in the fourth year of king Carloman [1] in the district above mentioned. A certain poor man who dwelt near the royal demesne called Rotunwila,[2] wished to visit the monastery of St. Gall; and not having anything to offer as a pledge of his devotion, he was prompted by the devil to break into the courtyard of a wealthy man, from which he carried off a hive with the bees and honey. He stifled the bees and made up the wax, and not long after went with a number of his friends and neighbours

[1] In 771. Pepin le Bref on his death in 768 left his dominions to his sons Charles (Charlemagne) and Carloman; the latter died in 771.

[2] *Rotundavilla*, Wett., the older form of the name: now Rotweil on the Neckar in Würtemberg.

to the church of St. Gall, taking with him the gift thus purloined. But when they were presenting one by one the gifts they had brought, the man who was going to offer his ill-gotten gains found that his wax had turned hard as a stone. Terror-stricken he confessed his guilt to one of his companions, who presently told the custodians of the church what had happened, and so the miracle speedily became known to all.

IX

The writer discourses of the nature of the work he hath taken in hand.

Having so far related those particulars of St. Gall's life, end, and miraculous powers, which have been handed down to us by writers of former ages, I will now turn my pen to the statements written down by our beloved brother Gozbert[1] on the authority of faithful witnesses. In these we are first clearly told how and when the Rule of the monastic life[2] was introduced into the cenobium of St. Gall and have in the next place a reliable account of the miracles by which the power of the holy father was gloriously manifested, the authorities for the several facts being given. I have arranged all this matter anew so as to give it some conformity of style with the earlier part of my work, and have also abridged it so as not to overburden readers impatient of fatigue. I have accordingly omitted the names of those who are or were the witnesses of the incidents related, lest owing to their uncouth form[3] they should detract from the dignity of the Latin ; feeling assured that the faithful will not doubt the truth of my statements, inasmuch as they know that

[1] See note p. 111.
[2] i.e. the Benedictine Rule.
[3] *Propter sui barbariem*, i.e., they were Teutonic names. Modern students of German philology will regret Walahfrid's regard for dignity.

nought of what I tell is impossible to God, in Whom is done all that calls for wonder and praise in the deeds of His Saints. Besides, if anyone desires to know the authorities for the same, he can find them in the writing which I follow (i.e., Gozbert's). Further, I mean to include in this work some facts which I have learnt not from any writing, but from the narrative of trustworthy men. In all I will, so far as in me lies, strive to keep to the track of truth, neither adding aught of my own in favour of a falsehood nor wilfully concealing aught that is true because I do not like it. And since I depend on the writings or sayings of others, let them answer for the truth of the facts; my only concern is to relate them concisely and in logical order.

X

How Pepin gave the Saint's burial place in charge to Otmar and bestowed on him gifts and privileges.

After the glorious deposition[1] of that sainted father and Confessor of Christ, Gall, certain devout clerics, inspired either by memory of his teaching or by the love of God, used to keep daily vigils at his sepulchre to the honour of Christ; and the practice was carried on for many years, from the time of Dagobert[2] down to that of Charles, the father of Carloman and Pepin. Now, since the fame of the miracles which the Lord vouchsafed to display to devout seekers through the merits of His Confessor was spread far and wide and gladdened the ears of all the peoples around, they began to flock from all quarters with eager devotion to implore the intercession of so great a saint; and because of its enduring

[1] i.e. death. Cf. Notker Balbulus, Martyrol, Oct. 16: *Depositio sive transitus vel ad æternam vitam natalis dies beati Galli.*

[2] King of the Franks, 628–638.

associations they enriched the place with manifold gifts of their substance, till at last their offerings reached an amount which seemed sufficient to support a small community. A landowner named Waltramnus, in whose hereditary estate lay the confines of the wilderness in which St. Gall had built his cloister,[1] perceived that the contributions were tampered with by certain unscrupulous individuals and procured from Victor who was then Count of Rhætia,[2] the services of a devout priest called Otmar to take charge of them, and to this man he entrusted the cloister and all pertaining thereto. Later, on the advice of Nebi, duke of Alemannia, he went along with the duke to the ruler Charles already mentioned and made over the cloister to his possession, requesting that the priest Otmar might be placed over it. The prince granted his request and summoning Otmar to his presence, gave the place into his charge, instructing him to establish the monastic rule there. On his return, Otmar entered on his duties like a good pastor, building on all sides convenient habitations for the monks and adapting the soil to such useful purposes as its nature and situation allowed of. When Charles passed away from temporal rule and life, he left the government of the realm to his sons Carloman and Pepin. After the lapse of a few years Carloman resigned the pomp of worldly power to seek a heavenly kingdom and set out for Rome to lead a life of retirement. On his way he came to the neighbourhood of St. Gall and repaired to the monastery to pray. When he heard how the place was rendered glorious by the frequent miracles wrought by

[1] See however Bk. i, ch. 21. According to Ratpert (*De Cas. S. Galli*) Waltramnus was great-great-grandson of Talto, count of the district, a contemporary and friend of St. Gall. He died about 740.

[2] *Curiensium comite*, i.e., of Rhætia Curiensis. This Victor is mentioned in the will of Bishop Tello (see ch. 17 below).

the Lord because of the saint's merit, he is reported to have uttered these words: 'This spot is indeed small and poor, but its fame hath spread far through the merits of St. Gall.' He would willingly have aided the monks of his own generosity, but reflecting that he could not do so now that he had withdrawn from the cares of state, he wrote to his brother asking him, for the love he bore himself, to be good enough to bestow on them some measure of royal bounty. This letter was presented to Pepin by the abbot Otmar, and Pepin, complying with his brother's request, gave the abbot a copy of the treatise written by St. Benedict on the monastic life, along with other gifts befitting a king, and enjoined him straitly to perpetuate the memory of St. Gall by introducing the monastic rule in the place committed to his charge. That Otmar might be better able to obey, he transferred to him certain tenants of the Arbon district that they might help him in building workshops for the monks and that the imposts which they were bound to pay yearly to the royal exchequer might go to support the community, as a lasting memorial of his bounty. Among other generous gifts, at the abbot's request he gave a bell for the church, which has ever since remained in the monastery, a reminder of his benefits. Finally, lest the greed of outsiders should interfere with this afflux of prosperity, he ordered a charter [1] to be drawn up with all the customary safeguards, in virtue of which not only Otmar himself but his successors in the abbotship were to hold their office directly under royal authority, thus being subject to the

[1] This early charter is more than doubtful; probably the monastery did not achieve its independence till the time of Louis le Débonnaire. Pepin's grant of rents to the monastery is, however, alluded to in a grace of the Emperors Louis and Lothair drawn up at Aix-la-Chapelle in 828; the original document had then been lost. Otmar must have been appointed abbot under Charles Martel.

monarch only and free from all vexatious restraint. After receiving these gifts and honours from the pious king, Otmar returned with joy to the monastery. Thus was the monastic rule instituted in the cenobium of St. Gall, and from that day to the present it has not ceased to grow and prosper.

XI

How a miracle was wrought while the people were warding off the raid of Count Victor.

Having thus given, as I believe, a fairly full and accurate account of the way in which the Sanctuary acquired the privilege of immunity (from all save the royal authority) and the standing of a regular monastery, I am now free to turn to the miracles of St. Gall.

Victor, the Count of Rhætia already mentioned, on hearing of the countless miracles wrought at the tomb of St. Gall through his merits, was filled with envy and vexation of spirit that our people should be thus signally favoured, and the report went abroad that he meant to make his way secretly through the recesses of the wilderness and carry off the precious relics of the Saint, if he could. On learning this nefarious design, the inhabitants of the surrounding district appointed bands of watchmen to mount guard in turn and took every measure that prudence could suggest, lest they should be deprived of the pearl of their possessions. One night, when the watchmen had stationed themselves fully armed in readiness for attack on a hill which overlooks the monastery, they beheld a light shine from heaven and illuminate the walls of the church. Filled with wonder, they sped to the church, and as they stood and gazed in trembling amaze, the light dwindled by degrees and was at length absorbed into the stars. But they, after

beholding this miracle, gave thanks to God and returned to their homes with easy minds, confident that no violence could avail to carry off the Saint's body from a spot which the Lord had chosen ere time began and which just then He honoured by such illumination. We may judge how great in God's sight were the merits of that man whose burial-place was thus lit up with divine radiance, seeing that the light which his soul enjoyed in perfection in heaven was not withheld from his dead body on earth.

XII

How the same Count was punished for his presumption.

Meantime the count heard that the watchmen had withdrawn from the monastery and took with him a troop of men, intending by a sudden and stealthy approach to carry out his evil designs. But as he was led to make the attempt not by any hope of spiritual advantage but by envy of the profit of others, he was, by God's will, speedily thwarted; for at the moment of starting he fell from his horse and broke his thigh. Thus the Lord recompensed the merits of the Saint whom He had called from the farthest limits of Ireland to be the salvation of many in Rhætia and Germany, by not suffering his body to be moved from the place which he himself had chosen. The neighbours did indeed show their devotion by keeping watch; but God who is the guardian of all good men, kept watch also at the very spot where the sentries were wanting. He did so, I believe, in order that His faithful people might not be robbed of the treasure which they guarded with such zeal and that the man who wished to come by it wrongfully might have no gain of his wickedness, but above all because He foresaw that, if the sacred relics were carried off, there would be no throng of monks to render Him praise in that place in

time to come. The Count was carried home by his servants and for a long time after suffered great agony: a lesson which at any rate taught him how presumptuous was the design which he had thought to accomplish by his own strength.

XIII

How a paralytic who was blind and deaf was cured by the merits of St. Gall.

Since then the Lord Himself kept guard over the body of the holy pastor lest it should be carried away from the fold of his faithful flock, it was but natural that the power of his merits should be gloriously attested by miracles and made known to all. A certain man of the neighbouring district had long been confined to bed with an irksome malady and not only lost his sight and hearing, but finally the soles of his feet were twisted back to his buttocks and he was reduced to such extreme weakness that his chest was the only part of his body which showed any signs of life. He was carried to the monastery by his friends in a cart and at their request was allowed by the custodians to spend a night in the church of St. Gall. While he was there alone, about cockcrow he was rapt by a sudden ecstasy and beheld four men clad in garments of dazzling white enter the chapel. They went up to the altar and for a long time remained chanting in harmonious alternation. When their hymns of praise were ended, one of them, approaching the pallet on which the sick man lay, said to him: 'Wherefore dost thou spend the dread hours of darkness here alone? Only believe and thou shalt be henceforth safe from this malady. Rise then and go forth, healed and free.' Immediately all his weakness vanished, and rising he went out of the church and returned healed to his friends.

XIV

How the Abbot Otmar was maltreated by unrighteous rulers.

For many years Otmar ruled the monastery with untiring zeal and enlarged it greatly, owing to the numerous gifts made by pious inhabitants of the neighbourhood for the sake of an everlasting reward; so that in no long time, what through this afflux of wealth from outside and the fame of his own spotless life, he found himself the father of many monks. At that time the government of all Alemannia was administered by the Counts Warinus and Ruodhart,[1] and as a considerable part of the monastery property lay within the confines of their jurisdiction, they strove to get it into their own power and possession and laid claim to the greater part of the monastery lands. They alienated the rents which Pepin of pious memory had granted to the monks, and with unabashed rapacity filched many other gifts which had been made over to the monastery by devout persons; and to crown all, when the abbot brought an accusation against them before the king, they threw him into chains and imprisoned him on an island on the Rhine near the place called Stein.[2] After remaining there some time in close confinement, he passed from the prison cell of life to the joys of Heaven, having ruled the monastery no less than forty years and added notably to its prosperity and fame.

[1] The name of Warinus, Count of Thurgau, appears in several deeds relating to the monastery of St. Gall between the years 754–764; that of Ruodhart Count of Aargau in one of the year 769. They appear to have acted at the instigation of Sidonius, Bishop of Constance.

[2] Otmar was imprisoned in the island of Werd near the falls of Schaffhausen; he died in 759. Later his remains were translated to St. Gall and in course of time he was canonized.

XV

How at their instigation the Bishop Sidonius attacked the monastery.

When Otmar had been removed from earthly cares, the Counts, still retaining possession of the property they had stolen, appointed in his stead one Johannes, a monk of a neighbouring monastery; [1] then, to add to their tyranny, they urged Sidonius, bishop of the church of Constance, to try to make the monastery subject to the episcopal See; for they hoped that if the bishop abetted their designs, they would be the more free to keep their illgotten gains. The bishop readily yielded to their prompting, and going to the monastery, did his best to get the upper hand over the monks and bring the place under episcopal authority. The brethren, not daring to resist his power, preferred to submit rather than involve themselves in serious trouble. But the sequel will show how wrongly the bishop acted in venturing for sake of gain to infringe the rights of the sanctuary.

XVI

How he suffered great loss for his daring.

Once, we are told, he ordered the monastery to furnish a quantity of provisions for a foray which he proposed making. Not daring to refuse, the monks sent the supplies over to the episcopal seat in a skiff in charge of some of their number. They had just started when a bird appeared flying along before them as though to show the way; and following its leading across the broad expanse of the lake, they reached the harbour in safety. Wondering what this novel kind of guidance

[1] Reichenau (Augia) on an island at the western extremity of Lake Constance.

might portend, they took care to observe the direction in which it flew next and saw it enter a house close to the shore in which the supplies got ready for the foray were stored. Strange to tell, very soon after the building caught fire and the flames burst out and mounted upwards, wholly destroying the stores, so that nothing at all was left. Thus by the just judgment of God one who laid violent hands on the property of others was by supernatural intervention deprived of his own.

XVII

How he proceeded against the brethren with great harshness and had to retire in disgrace.

The bishop still endeavoured to make the monastery subject to his See and because the monks would not consent to this, treated them as rebels against just authority, inflicting on them divers severities. On one occasion when he came to the monastery, Tello, bishop of the church of Rhætia Curiensis,[1] who was joined to certain of the brethren by ties of kindred, sent him a message respectfully entreating him for his sake not to harass or vex the servants of God any further. This request, however, the bishop spurned and in his reckless anger sent back word that he would enact speedy vengeance on those who defied his authority. Soon after he entered the church of St. Gall as though with intent to pray and stationed himself before the altar dedicated to the Saint; and there this man who deserved not that his prayers should be heard for his salvation, received condign recompense for the sufferings he had sworn to inflict on others. For suddenly his bowels began to seethe like a saucepan over a fire and he was seized by such terrible gripings that he could never have

[1] Tello was bishop, 758-773.

left the church without aid; and (I am ashamed to tell it) he yielded to the promptings of nature in a way that was highly offensive to the nostrils of all present. He was thrust from out the church without delay and at his own desire was placed in a vehicle and left the monastery. And so he took his departure, seated on a chamber-pot and undergoing most unnatural purgations. He was taken to the neighbouring monastery of Augia,[1] of which he was abbot at the time; there his malady grew worse and the stench from his person became so intolerable that hardly any of his attendants could render their wonted services. Thus punished for his deeds, a few days later he breathed forth his spirit from the foul sewer of his body.

XVIII

How pigs were fed by a miracle.

In the foregoing chapters I have given a summary but, I believe, accurate account of how the sanctuary came to acquire fame and possessions; how it was attacked by the schemes of certain evil-disposed people; and how they were overtaken by vengeance and their pride humbled. I think I ought now to tell how the Saint supplies his servants with the means of guarding and defending his property and aids those who ask him and put their trust in him with divers and frequent signs of power, whereby the greatness of his merits is made known to men by the Lord's doing.

There befell once a barren season in which the earth denied her produce and the trees yielded no mast for pigs or even for the wild creatures of the forest; and no food could be found for the swine which were kept for the use of the monastery in the adjacent parts of the wilderness. One day the herd of pigs, moved by some unaccountable

[1] Reichenau.

impulse, took to running rapidly through the pathless forest and made their way across the Rhine into the recesses of the wilderness on the far side. The swineherd, amazed at the sudden flight of his pigs, followed their track and found the flock (which he had given up for lost) revelling in abundant fodder. As he did not know the way back, he stayed there some time, living on the fruit of the trees and the flesh of animals. At last the entire flock was well-nigh cumbered with fatness; and anxious to return, he began to cast about in his mind how to find the way. One night he saw in a dream an old man of reverend guise and countenance with hoary hair, who said to him, 'Make ready to return, for I see thy pigs are abundantly fattened.' The swineherd replied that he did not know the way. 'Take the sow which the flock is accustomed to follow,' said the other, 'and give her a taste of thy switch, and then follow whithersoever she leads.' The swineherd did so and following the sow's lead with all diligence, found his way back without any mistake and arrived unexpectedly at the monastery, where all were surmising that he would never come back.[1] Now does not this incident plainly reveal the merits of St. Gall, who to benefit his servants showed the animals food till then undiscovered and brought them miraculously home?

XIX

How certain men who set fire to the stables were caught.

A certain brother who had charge of some of the monastery possessions had built sheds for fodder in an outlying spot and stored a large quantity of hay there. One night two men were prompted by the devil to set fire to the sheds and burnt them with all they contained.

[1] *Cunctis aliud suspicantibus*

For well-nigh the space of a year they escaped detection, but at last one of them was suddenly possessed by a demon and began to wander through the neighbouring district openly declaring, 'I set fire to St. Gall's cattle-sheds and he in return burns me with flames unseen.' Thus was the divine judgment unceasingly made known; and every place he came to, crowds were drawn by his persistent outcry to see the piteous sight. He implored them to put out the flames which were consuming him, but though they poured water over him with right good will, human strength was unavailing to quench a fire kindled by divine justice, and after a few days he ended his life raving mad in this dire torment. The other man, seeing the partner of his guilt punished with such tortures and dreading a like judgment for himself, went to the monk who was overseer and made confession, offering two cows as compensation and binding himself by an oath never again to damage St. Gall's property. However the brother, seeing that he was penitent, would not take the cows but suffered him to return home with them.

XX

How one who purloined wood from the forest was punished.

In one of the monastery lands was a small wood which was reserved for supplying mast for swine and guarded to keep people from cutting the timber. A certain poor man used to get into this wood by stealth and do much damage by cutting wood. One day he had entered it in his customary manner and was cutting some shrubs, when the sword he was using clave fast to his hand so that he could not lay it down. Knowing well why he was thus punished, he hastened to a church which was dedicated to St. Gall [1] and after he had prayed earnestly

[1] Apparently (as the Boll. editor observes) not the basilica attached to the monastery but some chapel dedicated to the Saint within the monastery domains.

for some time his hand was loosed and he left the sword before the altar. On leaving the church, however, he began to reflect that there could be no harm in taking home the wood he had cut, since nothing could be gained by letting it rot and go to waste. So he yoked his oxen to a cart and returning to the wood, began to gather together the cuttings. But as he was about to pile them on the cart, he felt a violent pain in his posteriors, as though he had been stung, and putting his hand to the place, caught hold of the sword which he had left before the altar. His fingers closed on the hilt and gripped the unwelcome gift so tightly that it seemed to him his knuckles were being wrenched asunder. Driven by pain, the unhappy man hurried back to the church and prostrated himself in prayer, asking that his sin might be forgiven and his hand freed. For a long time his prayers were unavailing, till at last he vowed solemnly never again to injure the property of St. Gall, whereupon presently his hand opened and let go the sword. In record of the miracle it was hung in the church and remained there long to strike terror into the hearts of all who would encroach on ecclesiastical property.

XXI

How retribution overtook a perjurer.

A man called Frumoldus carried off by force two serving-women from one of the monastery lands and made them his own bondservants. For this he was repeatedly summoned by the abbot [1] and was at last compelled by sentence of the judges either to return the women to the monastery or else swear solemnly on the

[1] *Ab advocato*—a term also applied to a bishop.

altar of St. Gall that they were his rightful property.[1] As his cupidity was strong and he set little weight on an oath, he went to the monastery with his attendants and boldly swore as was required of him. But a speedy vengeance overtook him for this disrespect to the Saint. For on leaving the church to return home after taking the oath, his horse was brought to him and he vaulted on its back; but through some extraordinary infatuation seated himself with his face to its hindquarters. Thinking this was due to the remissness of his servants, he dismounted in anger and ordered them to turn the horse round. A second and a third time he tried to mount and was baffled the same way; at last with the help of his attendants he was got on horseback and left the monastery crestfallen. He had not gone very far when he was suddenly attacked by a terrible pain in his eyes; and from that time his sight failed rapidly, till at last he was wholly bereft of the light of day, a victim to the horrors of blindness.

XXII

How the Saint when invoked saved a man from death.

The following incident will show clearly how quick St. Gall is to lend his aid when called upon. A certain man was journeying through the forest, making speed and keeping a sharp lookout for fear of the robbers who used to haunt it and waylay travellers. Suddenly he was overpowered by such drowsiness that he could hardly keep on his way. Wishing to halt a while to rest and withal fearing possible danger, he asked a peasant whom he met to keep watch over him until he had slept

[1] By one of the laws of Alemannia it was provided that anyone accused of theft from a church and denying the charge, might swear his innocence at the altar of the church in question, laying his hand on a case containing relics, in presence of an authorized priest or minister.

off a little of his drowsiness. The other with feigned friendliness promised to do so ; and the traveller, halting awhile, made a pillow of his cloak and laid himself down ; and after invoking the Saint's aid with the words ' St. Gall, have me in thy safe-keeping ! ' and fortifying himself with the sign of the cross, he fell asleep. His faithless guardian, regardless of his promise, approached the sleeper, weapon in hand, with murderous intent, and loosed his garment at the neck in order to despatch him with a single blow. But as he was about to strike, his joints suddenly grew stiff so that he could not bend his arms. Meantime the sleeper dreamt that someone stood by him and said : ' Why art thou overcome by sleep ? I have just saved thee from death.' Whereupon he awoke and saw his trusty companion [1] standing over him with drawn sword. Leaping to his feet, he seized the fellow and asked him why he was going to commit such a crime. The man confessed that he wanted the traveller's spoils ; and at once he was able to lower his arms which had grown rigid at the Divine command. The traveller, reflecting that he himself had been saved from death by the mercy of God and the merits of St. Gall, made peace with him and let him go unpunished.

XXIII

How a girl was delivered from an evil spirit.

So many people have been freed from demoniac possession through the merits of the holy father that, if I were to tell of all the cures, I should give my readers some reason to complain. I will therefore relate one case only, lest it should be thought that the Saint lacked this special power.

[1] *Fidelem socium*— a mistake for *infidelem*, unless Wal. speaks ironically.

A girl who was held in dire bondage by the ancient enemy of mankind was brought to the monastery by her parents, people of humble condition. She had no sooner entered St. Gall's chapel than she was assailed by a violent onslaught of the demon and fell to the ground where she lay writhing pitiably and made great outcry, pouring forth a torrent of foul language. One of the brothers called Stephen, in pity of her plight, repeated an exorcism over her, till at last the attack subsided; and when she had recovered her right mind, he prescribed the penances proper for her,[1] while he himself began to labour in prayer and fasting on her behalf. The unhappy young woman, however, tasted some food which had been forbidden her and was immediately assailed anew by the demon with such violence that it took several persons to hold her. Again she was brought to the monastery and again Stephen repeated the exorcism over her. At last a black insect somewhat like a locust [2] fell from her mouth. On seeing this, Stephen continued his adjurations with redoubled zeal, and three several times a locust or something that looked like one fell from her lips; but when the bystanders tried to catch the creatures, they vanished. That same hour the girl arose healed and for the rest of her life she was free from all assaults of the fiend.

XXIV

How the sacristan was reproved for being over-fearful by the miracle of the running oil.

I should also like to tell of an evident miracle whereby the Saint reproved certain of his servants for being fearful of want and strengthened their feeble faith. Once

[1] Special penances, including fasting, were prescribed for demoniacs.

[2] *In modum bruci*.

the sacristan of his church had not sufficient oil to supply the lamps, and one night he put out the light which was kept burning in the crypt by night, thinking that the lamp which burnt before the altar and sepulchre in the church above would suffice for both, as its rays shone through an opening and fell on the altar in the crypt. The lamp which he extinguished was of glass and contained oil and water, the oil being on the top.[1] Now I am going to tell a strange thing! The oil all oozed away drop by drop through a crack in the bottom, leaving the water undiminished, and trickling along the ground to the altar mounted and soaked half of the linen altar-cloth, so that the stain could never after be washed out. In this incident I know not whether to marvel most that the oil should have sunk below the water, or that the water did not escape by the same crevice, or that the oil mounted from the pavement to the altar-cloth; but I make no question that in all these wonders the power of the Saint was manifested and the senseless thrift of his servant rebuked.

XXV

How the monk who ran away was brought back against his will.

I must not omit to tell by what signs of authority the holy father reproves those who wrongfully abandon his service, either calling them back or punishing them if they persist in evil. A brother of the monastery once attempted flight and set out by night on a horse which he had stolen. Coming to the river Rhine, he tried to cross on horseback, but his steed turning round in mid-channel brought him back, without his being aware of it, to the

[1] In Jonas, ii. 21, we read likewise of a lamp being filled with oil and water.

very spot where he had entered, and he sped on his way back to the monastery thinking he was going in the opposite direction. At dawn he saw his labour had been in vain, and being afraid, he remained in hiding throughout the day and renewed his attempt at nightfall. But luckily for him the same mistake again occurred in crossing the river, and wheeling round, he returned all unwitting by the way he had come. Persisting in his design even though thus baffled, he hid himself that day also and the following night took the now familiar path for the third time; again he was brought back in the same manner. Being now overcome by fatigue, on the third day he lay down to sleep in a field, where he was found by some person who recognized the horse, and they laid hold on him and brought him to the monastery. And having failed to carry out his purpose, he was vanquished (though against his will) by the power of the Saint and returned to the path of duty. Many persons affirm that all of St. Gall's community who have run away are either led to speedy amendment or are overtaken by signal punishment and that none ever escaped scot-free who made light of the Saint and broke his vows.

XXVI

How one who had been disfigured by lightning was healed, partly at Rome and partly in this holy spot.

The story of the palsied man whose sins the Saviour forgave before healing him is a proof that the chastisement of the Lord keeps men from sinning, besides punishing them for sins committed (Matt. ix. 2). Likewise He sometimes smites in order that He may heal by aid of the merits of His saints; so that the divine agency is manifested by a man's being restrained inwardly from sin through chastisement and at the same time the power of the saints is clearly proved by his being restored

outwardly to health through their merits. It also happens at times that one who through the secret judgement of God is a victim not to one disease only but many, does not get rid of all his ailments at once but at different times and through the intercession of different saints, the cure of one particular disorder being granted to the merits of one saint and complete restoration to health being reserved to the prayers of another. Of this the following story will furnish a proof.

A certain man was struck by lightning and after a long illness lost the use of his limbs and was so deformed as to appear a monster rather than a human being. He was woefully shrunk in height and was unable to walk; his face was moreover fearfully disfigured by the scars of fire and the flesh and skin had grown over his eyes till the sockets were almost obliterated, so that he was an object to inspire wonder and loathing. By the help of his family he was taken to Rome and there so far freed from his bonds that he recovered his former strength and stature; but he remained afflicted with blindness. Brought home again by his friends, he went to the monastery of St. Gall. There one Sunday when he was present at nocturns,[1] he was overpowered by sleep and dreamt that two flaming arrows were shot from the altar and lodged in his eyeballs. Terrified by the dream, he uttered a loud cry and fell down trembling. After he had laid some time writhing on the pavement, the skin which had formed over his eyes was cleft as though by a sword-cut and in a trice he recovered his sight and was filled with joy. I have not, indeed, the least doubt that the chief of the Apostles, who received from the Lord the power of binding and loosing,

[1] Outsiders and visitors often attended nocturns at this period especially on Sundays and festivals.

could by his merits and prayers have freed this man from all his ills ; but surely it was contrived by divine power and providence that St. Gall by such an unheard-of miracle was made equal to the Apostles in their achievements in order that the greatness of his merits might be gloriously manifested to all men.

XXVII

How a deaf-mute was restored to health there.

On the Sunday following, a deaf and dumb man who was well known to many of the brethren because he was accustomed to visit the monastery, was present at the nightly vigils ; suddenly he was thrown to the ground by some powerful shock and streams of blood gushed from his mouth and ears ; after which he immediately recovered the use of both organs and went away cured.

XXVIII

How a theft was revealed in a vision.

I think I ought also to tell in this work how the servant of God keeps watch over the belongings of those who devoutly beseech his aid. The following incident was often vouched for by him to whom it occurred and who was afterwards enrolled a member of the community. When a lad in the flower of early youth he was one of the monastery pupils ; and one Sunday night while he was at nocturns some one from the neighbouring district broke into his chamber [1] and made off with his book and whatever else he could find. When the lad discovered his loss on his return from the church, he wept bitterly. The same night a brother of his who was lodged outside the monastery saw in his sleep an aged

[1] *Mansionem.* In the plan of the monastery of 820 the *schola exterior* is surrounded by chambers for the scholars which are inscribed *mansiunculæ*.

man of benign countenance standing by him, who told him what had befallen the boy, revealing at the same time the name and dwelling-place of the thief and the exact time at which the theft had been committed. Believing the vision, the brother returned to the monastery, where he found that all had happened as he had heard in his dream ; and following up the clues he had received, he very soon and without much difficulty caught the thief and recovered the stolen articles.

XXIX

How a nun recovered the use of her arms.

Another time, a nun belonging to the See of Constance, whose arms were bent to her breast so that she could neither stretch nor use them, came to the monastery and after praying a while before the tomb of St. Gall received a cure and went away rejoicing.

XXX

How the theft of the tools was discovered.

A certain man once came to the monastery—with no very honest intent, as the sequel showed—and noticed that some of the farm-labourers belonging to the monastery had given over work for the day and left their implements for the night along with their ploughs. Taking advantage of the darkness, he took as many of the tools as he could carry and made off with them as quickly as he could. But after walking all night, at daybreak he found himself, much to his surprise, at the monastery gate. Knowing that the loss could not have remained undiscovered, of his own accord he confessed the audacious theft he had committed at the devil's prompting on the property of St. Gall ; and returning the articles he had tried to carry off, he received his pardon and departed empty-handed.

XXXI

How a sick man was made whole.

An impotent man whose limbs were so shrunken that he could not walk one step without help, was daily brought by his friends to the sepulchre of St. Gall and laid beneath it in the crypt,[1] where he used to remain engaged in prayer till the evening, when his friends carried him back to the hospice.[2] This went on for some days. One day a priest belonging to the monastery was saying Mass in the church not far from the sick man, no one else being there save the two. Suddenly the sick man was visited from heaven (doubtless through the merits of St. Gall, whose aid he had so perseveringly implored) and began to utter loud inarticulate cries. The priest, intent on his sacred office, was terrorstricken (as he himself often afterwards avowed) and looked all round hoping to see some one, that he might have company to lessen his fear. Meantime the sufferer's joints were returning to position with a loud crackling noise like that of dry twigs broken asunder; and presently the priest saw him walk out of the crypt cured. Soon after he recovered such complete health that he was able to walk again without any difficulty.

XXXII

How a certain man was cured of nausea.

A rich man in the province of Alemannia was brought to such a pass by continuous ill-health that for well-nigh a whole year he suffered from nausea and was unable

[1] *Juxta sepulchrum in cripta ;* the wood *iuxta* here apparently =*subter*, for the tomb was in the church (see ch. 24).

[2] *Hospitium*—no doubt the guest-house set apart for those who visited the monastery. In a plan of the monastery as it was in early times, given by Mabillon in the *Annales Benedectini* (vol. ii, 570) there is a *domus hospitum* and also a *domus peregrinorum pauperum*, each with its appurtenant offices.

either to take or to retain the food needful for his recovery. On this account he was brought to the monastery of St. Gall, where he daily sought relief with sighs and prayers. One day when Mass had just been ended, he received the bread of benediction [1] from the priest's hand; as soon as he had eaten it, he was free from nausea and felt once more an appetite for food. Blessing the Lord and marvelling at the merits of St. Gall, he returned home in joy, a sound man.

XXXIII

How another was freed from his chains.

A certain poor man who had been guilty of manslaughter was punished by having his neck and both arms tightly confined by iron rings,[2] which caused him continuous suffering, as might be seen by the furrows which the iron made in his flesh. To gain relief from his torture and absolution for his crime he visited the shrines of many saints, and at last, by the mercy of God, his efforts were so far successful that he was freed from the fetters on his neck and one arm. Once when he happened to be in the neighbourhood of St. Gall's monastery, he was told in a vision (as he himself afterwards used to relate) to go to the monastery and visit the relics of the Saint and was assured that by doing so he would get rid of the ring which still remained on his arm and would obtain the boon of health. Longing for the promised deliverance (as was natural, seeing his whole arm was festered and swollen by the iron), he

[1] *Benedictionis panem*, either the consecrated wafer or bread which had been blessed.

[2] From the Life of St. Florentinus there appears to have been an ancient custom in France that any one who killed a kinsman and confessed the deed was punished by having to wear on his neck and arms rings made out of the sword with which the act had been committed.

hastened to the monastery. While he was at nocturns there, he fell into a deep sleep and saw standing beside him a venerable white-haired man wearing a chasuble, who said to him: 'Why art thou thus weighed down by slumber whilst the others are singing the praises of God?' He was too terrified to make any answer; then the old man touched the sore with a staff he had in his hand and immediately the iron ring sprang asunder and flew to a distance. He felt such acute pain at the touch that he frightened all the people about him by his shrieks. They asked why he disturbed their psalm-singing thus and he recounted his vision from beginning to end; and great was his joy, for though he was not yet free from the sore caused by the iron which had tortured him so, yet he was rid of the iron itself and could now look forward to a speedy recovery.

XXXIV

How a candelabrum was miraculously preserved.

Another time one of the monks who discharged the duties of sacristan in the church, had occasion to lower the circular lamp [1] which used to hang before St. Gall's altar, in order to light the other lamps. In doing so he pulled the rope by which it was suspended somewhat roughly, and it slipped from his hand, dragging out the peg to which it was fastened in the wall. As the lamp swung earthwards, it suddenly halted and remained suspended in mid-air without the aid of any human contrivance. Dumbfounded by the miracle, the sacristan kindled the other lamps from it and then pulled it back to its place and higher than it had been before, without spilling any of the oil or extinguishing any of its lights.

[1] *Farum*. A *farus* or *pharus* was a lamp in the form of a ring with lights disposed around it.

This incident was witnessed by a large number of people; and all gave praise and thanks to God who to show forth the merits of the holy father wrought a miracle of so unusual and startling a nature, lest light should be wanting for the service in the sanctuary at the appointed time.

XXXV

How lamps fell without being broken.

Another time, while this same brother was washing the glass lamps in the church, another monk walked by, not heeding where he was going, and in turning suddenly his frock caught in some of the lamps and dashed them to the pavement with such violence that they rolled as far as the chancel. But by the miraculous intervention of heaven, they were found—much to everyone's surprise—unbroken and were put back in their places.

XXXVI

How a physician who was in great danger was healed.

A brother of the community who had no mean knowledge of medicine, one day opened a vein in order to bleed himself. Very soon after he rashly set about some small piece of work, with the consequence that not only the arm he had bled but his whole body swelled up at once, and he found himself presently in danger of death, all his skill and knowledge being unavailing to save him. The night following he saw in a vision an old man standing by him, of serious but serene aspect, who asked him in kindly accents the cause of his illness. He gave a full account of what had happened, whereupon the old man said: 'Forget not, my son, when daylight is restored, to anoint thy wound with the oil which is kept burning before the altar in the crypt, and straightway thou wilt regain thy health.' Accordingly when morning came, he

told the sacristan the words he had heard in this dream, and they both entered the church, where he did as he had been told, trusting in the promise. No sooner was he anointed with the sacred fluid than the swelling went down over his whole body and he recovered complete health.

XXXVII

How a girl blind from birth received her sight.

A woman whose only daughter had been blind (so she averred) from birth, carried her on her own shoulders to the monastery and laid her before St. Gall's altar, then, casting herself on the ground, prayed long and fervently on her behalf. While she was yet praying, the girl began suddenly to roll from side to side on the pavement, uttering piteous cries; and in the midst of her anguish and her moans, she received the welcome gift of sight; and great was the delight of all present to behold so signal a miracle.

XXXVIII

How a sick man was cured by the dust of the sepulchre mixed with oil.

Among the monastery pupils at this time was a boy who, though of a poor family, had a keen desire for learning. Being deprived by untimely death of both his parents, he was forced to work for his daily bread, but no stress of circumstances availed to slacken his zeal for study. It happened that he was attacked by a pain in his side and a long and wasting illness ensued, till finally one side of his body, from shoulder to foot, was covered with running sores and he was so feeble that he could scarcely take a step without aid; and no physical remedy, however often tried, could do him any good. At last, when he was given over by all, on St. Gall's festival the

sacristan of the church collected some ashes from the Saint's coffin and mixing them with oil from the lamp which burnt before the altar, anointed the part of the boy's body which was affected. Next day it was found that the sores were healed and he was quite well. In memory of this cure he remained for the rest of his life in faithful and devout attendance on the services of the sanctuary.

XXXIX

How a girl with a withered hand was made whole.

Some time afterwards a girl, one of whose hands was withered and deformed, a mere encumbrance to her, came to the monastery with her mother. As she approached the altar in fulfilment of her vow, bearing on the palsied hand a bundle of linen which she meant to offer, her hand was all at once cured.

XL

How the wax which a peasant stole from the church was turned into stone.

Another time a peasant stole a small piece of wax from the altar in the church of the blessed father, meaning to use it for his own ends. On his return to the hospice, he drew the wax from his bosom to use it for some purpose or other; but he found it had turned hard as a stone. Straightway he ran back to the church and replaced it on the altar, making a full confession of his wrong-doing to those who were about him. They were amazed and took up the piece of wax to make sure of the matter, and lo! they found it changed back to its natural softness.

XLI

How a dumb man recovered the use of his voice.

A poor young man once came to the monastery to pray, bringing with him his brother who had long been

afflicted with loss of voice. On approaching the altar of St. Gall he saw a priest celebrating Mass there; waiting till the sacred rites were ended, he threw himself at the priest's feet as he came from the altar and besought him earnestly to offer prayer to the Lord on behalf of his dumb brother. The priest readily assented to his wish and first prayed for the poor fellow, then made the sign of the cross over him and administered the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ to strengthen him. When this had been done, the bonds of his tongue were loosed and he who on his arrival had been dumb recovered his speech.

XLII

How a deformed boy was freed from his infirmity.

A lad whose limbs were so crippled that he could not walk by himself, was once being carried to the monastery; but before they were very far on their way his bearers went off, leaving him alone. A herdsman who was going to the monastery from the forest by that path, saw the unfortunate lad lying there and said to him: 'How hast thou come here, my poor fellow? Whence art thou and whither wouldst thou? and how is it thou art not afraid to stay in this drear and desert spot?' 'Thou seest that I am beset with many misfortunes,' replied the other, 'and because of them I have long wished to visit the relics of St. Gall. But those who I hoped would carry me, wearied of the long way, and but a while since they left me, wretch that I am! to die a lingering death by hunger or be torn asunder by wild beasts in this wilderness.' The herdsman was moved to pity by the lad's plaints and placing him on his shoulders, carried him to the monastery, which was a mile off. There the brother whose charge it was to entertain the poor, received him and gave him fit lodging. One night

about the hour of vigils, when the other inmates of the hospice were setting out in haste to the church, the boy implored them to carry him thither, but no one would do so. Thereupon he invoked the name of St. Gall several times with a loud voice; after which he uttered such lamentable cries that all who heard were terrified and some of them came in to see what was the matter. They found him cured; and giving thanks to God he hastened with the others to the church.

XLIII

How a palsied woman was restored to health.

A girl who had long been palsied was brought by her friends to the monastery and carried into the church. During the Gospel lesson which is appointed by rule to be read at nocturns, she begged those near her to lift her from the ground and support her, and when they had done so, she asked them to let go their hold. They were afraid to do so lest she should fall and hurt herself, but she declared confidently that she was strong enough; so they let her go and she stood without support and presently left the church cured and in full possession of her bodily strength.

XLIV

How a blind woman received sight.

It happened once that the servant-maid of a certain householder who dwelt not far from the monastery, was opening the doors of the house, when a sudden and violent gust of wind blew a quantity of dust and straws into her face and eyes. The pain grew rapidly worse and by degrees her sight failed, till at last the horrors of darkness closed her round. She was brought to the church of St. Gall and immediately on entering prayed devoutly for the Saint's aid; whereupon her sight was restored and she went away rejoicing.

XLV

How a candle was lit from heaven.

Not long afterwards the yearly festival of the octaves of Epiphany was celebrated and all came to the church at the hour of Mass. When the lamps and candles were lit according to custom, one candle was left unlighted. While high Mass was being celebrated it began to emit a little smoke and at last, in the sight of a large number of worshippers, it caught fire and blazed more brightly than the rest, its unusual radiance testifying to miraculous agency.

XLVI

How a Scot was healed of divers diseases, and the end of the work.

Not long ago there came to the monastery certain men of the Scottish nation (with whom the habit of travelling has now become well-nigh second nature)[1] and on going away they left behind them one of their number who was suffering from a complication of disorders. He remained for several days in the monastery, daily imploring with entire faith the cure of his malady. One night in a vision he saw standing beside him an aged man of reverend garb and bearing; he asked him who he was and on hearing that it was St. Gall, immediately said: 'O my lord, seest thou not how my whole body is wasted with sickness and I daily implore some token of thy merits? Do not then longer delay what I believe thou wilt sooner or later do. For I believe that I have been kept hitherto for this very purpose that the glory and renown of thy merits may be revealed to the men of thy own race even as they are already known far and wide among these

[1] *Quibus consuetudo peregrinandi iam paene in naturam conversa est*

barbarians.[1] Thou thyself knowest how I have been long parted from my native soil and oppressed by the hardships of travel and bodily sickness. Come to my aid speedily, I beseech thee!' The Saint was touched by his plaints and gazing on him with mild countenance, answered briefly: 'As soon as day is restored to men, go to the church and thou shalt see that the divine purpose avails thee more than solace of country or help of kindred.' When morning came, full of burning desire, he hastened to the church and mindful of the promise made earnest and fearful supplication at St. Gall's tomb. Then, laying hold of a corner of the shrine to support himself, he gradually rose to his feet, nor did he loose his hold till he had gained sufficient strength to stand upright and walk to and fro by himself. In course of time complete health was vouchsafed him; and since then to the present day he has been a monk in the monastery of St. Gall, serving God by his prayers and holy life

Thus from the abundant crop of St. Gall's miracles have I sought to lay up some grains in the garners of memory, that they may yield profitable nourishment both to ourselves and others. For they can furnish much edification to all lovers of righteousness, since they inculcate virtue and kindle the mind of the devout reader or hearer to praise the Lord who thus honoureth His saints. But the miracles of the holy father are indeed so many and so great that they could not all be recounted by eager and diligent writers nor perused without weariness and knitted brow by readers easily irked. Hence in this work are included only those which are attested by the accounts of truthful witnesses and which by their succinctness are not likely to offend the taste of him who abhors a surfeit even of that which is profitable.

[1] *Barbaris*—perhaps only = foreigners.

THE PRAYER OF WALAHFRID

I beseech thee therefore, blessed Gall, Confessor of Christ, that whereas thou didst through thy merits bestow health of body on many (even as I have told), thou wilt vouchsafe also to supplicate the healing power of Divine mercy on behalf of our souls.

APPENDIX A

INCLUSES

THE practice of inclusion seems to have had its origin among the Benedictine monasteries on the Continent; though a large number of Irish monks became incluses abroad, it does not appear to have gained ground in Ireland, at any rate in pre-Norman times. So far as I am aware, we have only one instance of an incluse's cell attached to an Irish monastery—that still to be seen at the little church of St. Doulogh near Malahide, Co. Dublin.[1] In Ireland those who aspired to a life of complete seclusion from the world generally became hermits (*anachoretæ*). The incluse (*inclusus*; the terms *reclusus* and *retrusus* are also used, see Du Cange Gloss. s.v. *Inclusi*) occupied a place midway between the

[1] There seem to have been isolated cases of enclosed anchorites in Ireland. On a hill at Fore, Co. Westmeath, is an anchorite's cell with a small oratory attached, which was occupied as late as the year 1680, though whether the occupant was an incluse in the strict sense of the term is not clear. An account of it is given in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*, vol. xxii, pp. 6, 7. Adjoining one of the small churches on the island of Inis Cealtra on Lough Derg are the ruins of another cell which Professor R. A. S. Macalister conjectures to have been the abode of an incluse; a full description of it will be found in his *History and Antiquities of Inis Cealtra* (Roy. Ir. Acad. Proceedings, vol. xxxiii, Sec. C, No. 6, 1916). For the above information I am indebted to Prof. Macalister himself. For an account of St. Doulough's (or Duilech, the Irish form of the name), see Reeve's *Memoir of the Church of S. Duilech* (R. I. A. Proc., vol. vii, 141). It was probably built early in the thirteenth century. There is still extant an indulgence issued by Nicholas, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1406 to procure contributions towards the support of Eustace Roche who at that time inhabited the cell and who is described in the document as an *anachorita inclusus*.

anchorite and the regular monk, being attached to a monastery or church. We still possess a *Regula Solitariorum* in sixty-nine chapters written towards the end of the ninth century by a priest named Grimlaicus, and printed in Migne, Patr., ciii, col. 575–664 ; it is expressly intended, not for hermits and anchorites, but for incluses and monks undergoing voluntary incarceration, and from it may be formed a fairly adequate idea of the life of the incluse. A candidate for inclusion was to spend a year of probation in the monastery, never leaving the cloisters save to enter the church and subjected to severe tests under special observation. At the close of this period, in the chapel and in presence of the bishop and all the monks he passed through a ceremony of dedication in which, after renouncing all possessions, he prostrated himself at the feet of those present and besought the aid of their prayers. Then he entered the cell, clad in the habit he was to wear for the rest of his life, and the door was closed and sealed by the bishop. The cell, or rather enclosure, was to be small, surrounded on every side by walls so as to prevent exit or entry, but provided with all necessaries, including an oratory consecrated by the bishop ; this was contiguous to the monastery church and communicated with it by a small curtained window, through which the incluse could hear Mass and service and join in chanting psalms and responses. Inside the enclosure there should be, if possible, a small garden in which he could take air and exercise and grow vegetables ; outside it there might be cells for his disciples or those receiving his instruction. Sometimes two solitaries were enclosed together, occupying separate chambers connected, however, by a window through which they could encourage each other in the service of God—on profane topics there should be silence between them. Grimlaicus recommends that incluses

should thus dwell two or even three together, a single solitary being exposed to the temptation of spiritual pride and of fancying himself on the road to perfection. A monk or cleric coming from distant parts might be admitted as incluse in a monastery after undergoing the required probation. The incluse should be learned (at any rate in theology and kindred subjects), not one in need of instruction, and was enjoined to practise all the good works prescribed by the Church, including the visitation of the sick and the burial of the dead, these last two duties being however fulfilled not in the literal sense (which would be impossible under the circumstances of incarceration), but by interceding for and exhorting those on the sickbed of sin and by prayer for the souls of the departed and of those dead in sin. The incluse was, indeed, to pray without ceasing—if not with the tongue, with the heart or the labour of his hands. Strict rules are given for the diet of incluses, which was to consist mainly of vegetables with cheese or eggs, and occasionally fish as a treat; they might also use oil (or in districts where it was lacking, fat), and Grimlaicus allows them even a little wine—but this grudgingly and as a concession to the laxity of his times. They might have two tunics and two cowls so as to admit of change by day and night and of washing their garments.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that the system of inclusion was neither so rigorous nor so unnatural as might be supposed by readers whose notions on the subject have been drawn from the representations of fiction, such as the Gudule of Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*. The incluse was in fact allowed all that was absolutely necessary for health in the matter of air, exercise, food and cleanliness; in the life of S. Wiborada we read that she was accustomed thrice a year to take a bath, which was prepared for her by a female attendant;

though she always obtained a licence from the Abbot for this luxury. There were no doubt many incluses who revelled in mortifications, like the priest Hartker mentioned by Ekkehard, who for thirty years occupied a cell so low that he could not stand upright in it, had a stone for his pillow and even in his last illness would not allow the monks to enter and attend to his needs. Many, however, lived to a good old age in confinement. Nor was the incluse's life necessarily inactive ; much of his time was spent in study, in copying books, and even in manual labour ; the Stiftsbibliothek at St. Gall still possesses a couple of fine codices written by Hartker during his inclusion. Many preached and taught and were resorted to by outsiders and lay-folk for advice and instruction, and some, like Wiborada, seem to have exercised a considerable influence in their districts.

Among Irish incluses on the Continent the best known is perhaps the chronicler Marianus Scotus, for an account of whom see Dr. McCarthy's Introduction to the Codex Palatino-Vaticanus (R. I. A. Todd Lecture Series, vol. iii). Marianus was enclosed for ten years at Würzburg and subsequently for thirteen more at Mayence, where he died in 1082. In his chronicle he mentions a countryman of his own named Paternus who was an incluse at Paderborn and perished in the fire which destroyed that town in 1058, refusing to leave his cell though he had foretold the conflagration ; thus ' through fire he passed to grateful cool ' (*per ignem pertransivit in refrigerium*). But long before that time there were Irish incluses in Germany and Switzerland, such as Eusebius of Mount Victor and St. Fintan of whom we possess an early (incomplete) life. Women incluses were not infrequent and the example of Wiborada found many imitators among her own sex.

APPENDIX B

VITA THEORICA

The contrast between the active life (*vita actualis*, *v. activa*) and the contemplative life or life of mystic intuition (*vita theorica*, *v. contemplativa*) is a favourite topic of mediaeval theology ; the following passage, from Grimlaicus' *Regula Solitariorum* (Migne Patr., ciii. col. 586) may be quoted here : 'The active life is (that part of) the religious life (*conversatio religiosa*), which teaches how those in authority are to rule and to love those placed under them and, no less concerned for the welfare of these than for their own, to provide for them with paternal care whatsoever they know to be for their good ; and conversely, how those in subjection are to serve their superior as the limbs serve the body, and keep his precepts with the utmost love as the command of God. For the active life giveth bread to the hungry, teacheth the ignorant the word of wisdom, reproveth the erring, calleth back the proud to the path of humility, tendeth the sick, dispenseth unto each whatsoever things are for his profit and taketh earnest heed for the preservation of all committed to its charge. . . . The contemplative life is to hold fast with one's whole mind the love (*dilectionem*) of God and of one's neighbour, to look down on all that is transitory, to set in the second place those things which are seen and desire only those which are heavenly. For the contemplative life is so called from contemplating, to wit seeing ; in which life the intellectual creature, purged of all sin, shall behold its Creator. But if we consider it attentively, even now in this frail tabernacle in which we

daily groan, we can in a certain measure become partakers in the contemplative life. For according to the opinion of some, the contemplative life is nothing else than the knowledge of things hidden and to come, or detachment from all the business of this world, or the study of divine letters. The active life begins with the body and with it ends here (on earth); the contemplative life begins here and attains its fulfilment in a world to come. Of these two the one, namely, the active life, is typified by Martha, and the other, the contemplative, by Mary; but Martha is certainly necessary to Mary.'

Dante in the Divine Comedy (Purg. xxvii, 100 follg.) expresses the contrast by the symbolic figures of Leah and Rachel.

The early Irish Christians adopted the terms (*vita*) *actualis* and *theoria* as *achtáil* and *teôir*; in O'Davoren's Glossary these terms are explained respectively, as 'ploughing and reaping' and 'the intuitive life, i. e., a person to be praying in the church or his mind to be continually fixed on God alone.' The term *teôir* is found in the Würzburg Glosses (12 a 24); see also *Lismore Lives of the Saints* 1013 and *Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.* viii, 232, § 3.

APPENDIX C

TROPES AND SEQUENCES

A TROPE, in the widest sense of the word, is an interpolation of a liturgical text. Like *sequentia*, the term *tropus* was originally a musical one, and indeed the sequence was only a particular case of the trope. But, as we have seen, when words were added to the sequence, the name *sequentia* (or *sequela*) came to be applied to words as well as music (the term *prosa* being confined exclusively to the words, *neumes* to the music), and later, when sequences began to be written in rhymed verse, it supplanted *prosa*. Likewise the word *trope* came to stand for the words sung rather than the melody. The technical distinction between a trope and a sequence is that whereas the latter had no connection with the parts of the ritual immediately preceding and following beyond that of appropriateness to the occasion, the trope was interwoven with the words of the ritual itself, of which it was an amplification. At first in the troparies (i.e. collections of tropes) the words of the liturgy were distinguished from those added by being written in capitals or underlined with red ink; but sometimes this precaution was neglected and the trope came to be regarded as part of the liturgical text, thus giving rise to manifold corruptions. Tropes were used chiefly in monasteries and though freely permitted, were never formally acknowledged by the Church. The oldest troparies we have are those of St. Gall; but tropes soon became popular and were widely cultivated, especially at St. Martial in Limoges. Like the sequence, they came in

time (towards the end of the eleventh century) to be written in rhymed verse.

To the trope is due the development of the early religious drama, the germ of which is to be found in the tropes used at Easter and Christmas (especially the former), which sometimes took the form of a dialogue and were often accompanied by an acted ceremonial. (See the introduction to Pollard's *English Miracle Plays*, Oxford, 1904).

Trope and sequence must be distinguished from the *versus* or Latin hymn in metre, of which the *Vexillum regis* and *Pange lingua* of Venantius Fortunatus are well-known examples. These hymns were extra-liturgical, being generally composed for some festival or special occasion, often for processions; and, it must be repeated, it is not to them, but to the sequence, that we must trace the origin of the later rhymed liturgical hymns, such as those of Adam of St. Victor and St. Bernard. We have many examples of the *versus* written by monks of St. Gall in the ninth and tenth centuries, chiefly by Ratpert and Hartmann (a number are given by Canisius, *Ant. Sect.*, vol. v).

Those desirous of studying the subject further may be referred to the Abbé Gautier's book *Les Tropes* (from which the foregoing account is condensed) and the essay by Neale prefixed to vol. v of Daniel's *Thesaurus*.

As examples of the trope, sequence and *versus*, I add (*a*) Tutilo's trope written for a Mass composed by the music-loving emperor Charles the Fat, the words of the liturgy being italicized; (*b*) a sequence by Notker for the festival of St. Gall; and (*c*) Ratpert's processional hymn for the same occasion.

(*a*) Hodie cantandus est nobis puer quem gignebat ineffabiliter ante tempora Pater, et eundem sub tempore generabit inclyta mater.—Quis est iste puer quem tam

magnis praeconiis dignum vociferatis? Dicite nobis ut collaudatores esse possimus.—Hic enim est quem præsagus et electus symmysta Dei ad terram venturum prævidens longe ante prænotavit sicque praedixit: *Puer natus est nobis* absque nascentium ordine procreatus de virgine sine viri semine. *Et filius datus est nobis* qui nos filios sui Parentis adoptivos fecit, carnem sumens, quos et nominat fratres. *Cuius imperium super humerum eius*, Deus quod Pater suo misso in mundum Nato et incarnato semper suum dat secundum carnem. *Et vocabitur nomen eius* nomen quod exstat omne super nomen, quod supernae tremunt potestates, terra et inferus quod adorant et trepidant, *Magni consilii angelus.*

(*b*) O dilecte domino, Galle, perenni,
hominibus et coetibus angelorum:
qui Christi obediens arduae suasioni
praedia patris, gremium matris,
coniugis curam, ludicra nati
sprevisti, pauperem pauper dominum sequens,
et crucem gaudiis protulisti lubricis.
Sed Christus pretio centuplicato
haec compensavit, ut dies iste testatur,
dum tibi nos omnes filios dulci subdit affectu,
Sueviamque suavem patriam tibi, Galle, donavit,
necnon et iudicem in cœlis apostolorum choro iunctum te fecit sedere.
Te nunc suppliciter precamur ut nobis Iesum Christum, Galle, postules favere,
et locum corporis eius pace repleas,
ac tuos supplices cebrâ pace subleves,
ut tibi debitam honorificentiam
laetabundi semper mereamur solvere,
o Galle, Deo dilecte.

(*c*) Annua, sancte Dei, celebremus festa diei
quâ, pater, e terris sidera, Galle, petis.
Ecce dies populis micat haec sanctissima nostris
quorum tu, princeps, auctor ad astra meas
Finibus occiduis exiens succedis Eois,
dans lucem plebi dogmatis igne tui.

Quae tenebrosa fruit, fidei nec luce refulsit,
per te coelestem coepit habere diem.
Hic ubi nocticolae tenuere cubilia larvae
ad laudem Christi psallit ubique chorus.
Hic fuit ecce feris statio gratissima saevis ;
nunc sedes sanctis te resonante manet.
Tu, pater, huc veniens fers tecum pacis honores,
hinc totum pellens quicquid adesse nocet ;
expuleras nocuum, complens dulcedine totum,
quo, corpus linquens, spiritus astra petit.
En hodie meritam tu post certamina palmam
sumpsisti, Galli ; protege nos hodie.
Jam super astra nitens famulorum suscipe laudes,
qui tibi devoto nunc iubilant modulo.
Aspice propitius venerantes nobile pignus
corpus praeclarum, Galle beate, tuum.
Aspice quae canimus ; expugna corda benignus,
in rebus cunctis rector adesto tuis.
Hinc Domino trino laeti pangamus et uno,
qui nos nunc talem fecit habere patrem.—*Amen.*

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